

Planned
The Doct of the L. S. ~~in the early~~ Reformers w special reference
to Calvin's teaching.
- a study is of T. Leal. of the Reformers
w. special reference
to Calvin's teaching.

The Doct of the L. S. ~~in the early~~ Reformers w special reference
to Calvin's teaching.
- a study is of T. Leal. of the Reformers
w. special reference
to Calvin's teaching.

Hastie - Reformed Church,

Allen Menzies.

McNeill H. C.

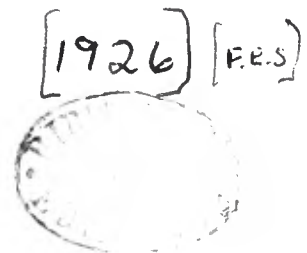
Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper in its Relation
to other Sacramental Types.

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D. in Theology.

by

REV. ALEXANDER BARCLAY, B.D.

Duplicate



Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper in its
Relation to other Sacramental Types.

PREFACE.

In the study of his subject, the writer of this thesis has been led to make a more exhaustive examination of the corresponding doctrines of Luther and Zwingli, than he at first intended.

In the course of a visit to the Universities of Geneva, Lausanne, and Basel in the summer of 1925, he found that modern theological thought in Switzerland sets a higher value on the Eucharistic doctrine of Zwingli, than was the custom in the period immediately following the publication of the monumental work of Baur. There is now a tendency to study the teaching of Zwingli historically, and to question the hypothesis, that from the first, he was in direct opposition to the theologian of Wittenberg. Some would even go so far as to say that in his first and third periods, he fell little short of the more positive teaching of Calvin.

The acceptance of this view compelled the writer to examine the works of Zwingli in their chronological order, following the plan of the recent monographs of Walter Köhler, and Miéville.

The same method was applied to the Eucharistic writings of Luther, where Seeberg, Loofs, and Dieckhoff served as guides.

A similar course was followed in the discussion of Calvin's Eucharistic doctrine.

It is well known that Calvin formulated his theory independently. On the other hand, it is now generally accepted, that teaching similar to that which he propounded, was already prevalent in the Eucharistic works of Melancthon, Oekolampadius, and Bucer.

Modern research in Switzerland has also proved that the roots of Calvin's mediating testimony are to be found in such documents as the Swabian Syngamma (1525) of Brenz, the Tetrapolitan Confession (1530), the Wittenberg Concordia (1536), and the two Pre-Calvin Confessions - the First Confession of Basel (1534), and the First Helvetic Confession (1536). An apology is due for the somewhat extensive treatment of these sources, as also, for Chapter One, where/

where, the general Sacramental teaching of the three Reformers is contrasted.

The AIM of the writer is,

First, To show that Luther was justified in never formally expressing disapproval of Calvin's Eucharistic Doctrine, as, when Luther's theory is stripped of its Scholastic scaffolding, and when Calvin's doctrine is viewed apart from unessential elements and suggestions, the two Reformers have much in common.

Second, An attempt is made to prove that a much higher value must be set on the testimony of Zwingli, between whom and Luther, there were many points of contact, and who, had he survived, would probably have found himself in accord with Calvin, in the same sense, that his successor, Bullinger, found himself in complete harmony with the Genevan Theologian.

The last portion of the thesis is devoted to an effort to set in clearest light the Eucharistic doctrine of Calvin in its relation to those of Luther and Zwingli.

The Scriptural basis of Calvin's theory is examined, and the question as to whether Calvin was consistent in his teaching is also dealt with.

Following Doumergue and Prof. Choisy, a final section treats of the points of contact between the Eucharistic doctrine of Ratramnus in the Ninth Century, and that of Calvin in the Sixteenth Century.

TABLE of CONTENTS.

Chapter One. - Pages 1 to 18.

THE SACRAMENTS.

The Roman Catholic Doctrine of the Sacraments at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century.

Luther's Doctrine of the Sacraments.

Zwingli's Doctrine of the Sacraments.

Calvin's Doctrine of the Sacraments.

Chapter Two. - Pages 19 to 22.

The Roman Catholic Doctrine of the Lord's Supper at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century.

Chapter Three. - Pages 23 to 42.

Luther's Early Teaching on the Lord's Supper (A). Before his Controversy with Karlstadt.

I. 1518, Sermon on Maundy Thursday, on the Worthy

Preparation for the Sacrament.

II. 1519, EIN Sermon vom hochw. Sakr. des Leichnams Christi.

III, Sermon vom Neuen Testament.

De Captivitate Babylonica.

IV. Summing up of Luther's Teaching..... so far.

V. Vom Anbeten des Sakr. des heiligen Leichnams Christi in answer to the Bohemian Brethren (PRECURSORS of CALVIN).

(B). Luther's Controversy with Karlstadt.

Karlstadt's Teaching.

Luther's reply in Wider die Himmelschen Propheten.

CHAPTER FOUR. - Pages 43 to 52.

ZWINGLI'S TEACHING in its THREE PERIODS. - THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Introduction..... THE THREE PERIODS.

- (A), Before he came into conflict with Luther in 1524.
- (B), Zwingli in conflict with Luther (1524-1529).
- (C), Zwingli's Return to his early, positive Teaching. (1529-1531).

A.

Zwingli's Teaching before 1524.. Zwingli and the MASS.

Archeteles (1522).

18th Article of the 67 Schlussreden... Jan. 1523.

Auslegung der 67 Schlussreden.

Letter to Wyttenbach..... June 1523.

Summing up of Zwingli's Teaching..... so far.

De Canone Missae..... August 1523.

The Sources of Zwingli's Early Teaching... Erasmus.

CHAPTER FIVE. - Pages 53 to 63.

B.

ZWINGLI'S MIDDLE PERIOD (1524-1529).

Sources of the Teaching of this period..... HOEN & WESSEL.

Zwingli's Letter to ALBER..... 16 Nov. 1524.

De vera et falsa Religione..... March 1525.

Letter to Oekolampadius.

The SUBSIDIUM & Zwingli's Dream... Am GRUT... Aug. 1525.

Summing up of Zwingli's Teaching..... so far.

CHAPTER SIX. - Pages 64 to 88.

B

ZWINGLI'S MIDDLE PERIOD... continued.

ZWINGLI & OEKOLAMPADIUS... in direct Conflict with LUTHER.

Controversy begun by the Epistle of Bugenhagen...1525.

Zwingli's Response to Bugenhagen.

Oekolampadius' Work.. De genuina verborum.. expositione.

The SWABIAN SYNGRAMMA by BRENZ... PRECURSOR of CALVIN.

Oekolampadius' Antisyngamma.

Strasbourgers Attempt to Mediate.

Pirkheimer poisons the mind of Luther.

Luther's VORREDE zum Syngamma.

Oekolampadius' Reply to Bugenhagen.

Zwingli's KLARE UNTERRICHTUNG vom Nachmahl Christi....

NESTORIANISM.... This was Zwingli's First Work in

German... written in answer to Luther's VORREDE.

Luther's Sermon vom Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes

Christi...wider die Schwarmgeister.. 29th March 1526.

Zwingli's Correspondence with Haner.... ALLOEOSIS.

Zwingli's AMICA EXEGESIS.

Zwingli's Freundlich VERGLIMPFUNG.

Zwingli's Letter to Luther.

Luther's Dass diese Worte.. noch feststehen.. May 1527.

Zwingli's Dass diese Worte ewig.. haben werden (June 1527).

Discussion of these Writings, involving the questions of

UBIQUITY, CHRISTOLOGY, COMMUNICATIO IDIOMATUM, and the ALLOEOSIS.

The Position before Matburg.

Summing up of the Teaching of Luther and Zwingli at this time.

Disputation at BERN... Zwingli's View upheld.

CHAPTER SEVEN. - Pages 89 to 109.

C.

ZWINGLI'S THIRD PERIOD..MARBURG (1529) till his Death (1531).

Preparations for the Marburg Conference.

Discussion at Marburg.

Results of Marburg.

Influence of Marburg on the Augsburg Confession.

Augsburg Confession.. Article TEN.

The TETRAPOLITAN Confession... GERM of CALVINISM.

Zwingli's FIDEI RATIO... July 1530.

Zwingli's AUSLEGUNG des CHRISTLICHEN GLAUBENS (1531).

FINAL SUMMING up of ZWINGLI'S DOCTRINE.

Zwingli's Death at Kappel. 1531.

CHAPTER EIGHT. - Pages 110 to 115.

POSITION of the QUESTION, when CALVIN began to write.

Attempts at Mediation by Bucer.

The First Confession of Basel (1534).

The First Helvetic Confession (1536).

The Wittenberg Concordia (1536).

Letter of the Swiss to Luther.

Luther's answer to the Swiss Letter.

The Ground already prepared for Calvin's Theory by the Teaching of the SWABIAN SYNGRAMMA, the Tetrapolitan Confession, the WITTENBERG Concordia, and the Two Pre-Calvin Swiss Confessions.

CHAPTER NINE. - Pages 116 to 125.

CALVIN'S EARLY TEACHING on the LORD'S SUPPER.

Calvin's Early Life and Preparation.

The First Edition of the Institutes (1536), and its
Teaching on the Lord's Supper.

Comparison of the First Edition of the Institutes with
the De Captivitate Babylonica.

Calvin's Relation to Zwingli, Bucer, and Oekolampadius.

CHAPTER TEN. - Pages 126 to 140.

CALVIN'S FIRST RESIDENCE in GENEVA. - TEACHING ON THE LORD'S
SUPPER.

Calvin in Geneva.

Calvin at the Disputation at Lausanne.

The TEN Theses of Lausanne - Their Teaching on the Lord's Supper.

Calvin at the Bern Synod.... The Lord's Supper.

The Articles of 1537... Teaching on the Lord's Supper.

The Catechism of 1537... Do.

The Confession of 1537... do.

The Synod of Lausanne.... Sept. 1537.

CONFESSIO FIDEI de EUCHARISTIA.

The Importance of this Confession.

The New State of Parties in 1537.

Calvin's Expulsion from Geneva.

CHAPTER ELEVEN. - Pages 141 to 164.

CALVIN in STRASBOURG... Sept. 1538. - TEACHING ON THE LORD'S SUPPER

Calvin's Relation to the Augsburg Confession.

Melanchthon's VARIATA (1540) of the Augsburg Confession.

Calvin's Tract DE COENA.

Evaluation of the Tract.

2nd Edit. of the Institutes (1539); the French Translation (1541),
and the 2nd Catechism (1541),... Their Teaching on the Lord's
SUPPER.

Summing up of Calvin's STRASBOURG TEACHING on the Lord's Supper.

CHAPTER TWELVE. - Pages 165 to 191.

Calvin's Second Sojourn in Geneva... THE CONSENSUS TIGURINUS.

Letter to Sadolet.

Events leading up to Calvin's Recall to Geneva.

Return to Geneva... 12th Sept. 1541.

Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques on the Lord's Supper (1541).

Negotiations leading up to the CONSENSUS TIGURINUS.

Letter of Calvin to Bullinger on the Lord's Supper.

Bullinger's Reply to Calvin's Letter.

The TWENTY Articles of Bern.

The 26 Articles of the Consensus Tigurinus.

The Predestinarian Teaching in the Consensus Tigurinus.

Attitude of other Churches to the Consensus Tigurinus.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN. - Pages 192 to 218.

CALVIN & WESTPHAL. - Controversy on the LORD'S SUPPER.

Influence of the Consensus Tigurinus.

Attitude of Melanchthon to the Consensus Tigurinus.

The Anti-Melanchthon Party in Germany.

JOACHIM WESTPHAL.

JOHN A. LASCO and his Work on the Lord's Supper.

The Calvin-Westphal Writings.

The Points at issue in the Calvin-Westphal Controversy.

The Calvin-Westphal Controversy in Dialogue form.

Summing up of Calvin's Teaching in this Controversy.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN. - Pages 219 to 251.

Calvin's Final Teaching on the Lord's Supper.

The THIRD EDITION of the Institutes (1559).

Calvin & Hesshuss.

De vera Participazione.

The Best Means of Attaining Concord.

Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper in a series of propositions.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN. - Pages 252 to 255.

The Relation of Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper to
that of Zwingli.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN. - Pages 256 to 277.

The Relation of Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper to that
of Luther.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN. - Pages 278 to 289.

Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Is it Scriptural?

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN. - Pages 290 to 307.

Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Is it Candid and
Consistent?

CHAPTER NINETEEN. - Pages 308 to 316.

The Sources of Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper.
Was RATRAMNUS the Precursor of Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's
Supper?

INDEX of AUTHORITIES QUOTED.

Adoption de la Réforme par le peuple de Genève. (Geneva 1923).

Allgemeine Encyclopaedia. Art. Hesshuss.

Augustine. Opera.

Adamson. The Christian Doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Burnet. History of the Reformation of the Church of England.

Bonnet. Letters of John Calvin.

Bohatec. Calvinstudien.....Elberfeld. 1909.

Bungener....Calvin, sa vie, son oeuvre, et ses écrits.

Rome et le Vrai.

Baur....Zwinglis Theologie, ihr. Werden und ihr System.

Beyschlag....New Testament Theology.

Boniface....Histoire des Dogmes.

Bretschneider....Handbuch der Dogmatik.

Bruce....The Humiliation of Christ.

Borgeaud....Calvin et Genève.

Beza....Life of Calvin.

Bossuet....Histoire des Variations.

Cunningham...Reformers & Theology of the Reformation.

Choisy.....La théocratie à Genève au temps de Calvin..(1897).

Pascase Radbert.....(1881).

Calvin et le temps présent...(1909).

Chemnitz...De fundamentis sacrae coenae.

Corpus Reformatorum.

Catechisma Romana.

Clemen. Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.

Collin....Die Notate des Ohrenzeugen..zu Marburg.

Candlish....The Sacraments.

CALVIN....Opera...Baum, Cunitz und Reuss.

Christianae Religionis Institutio...Basilae 1536. (In the Library of the University, Geneva).

Institutio....Tholuck.

Institution de la Religion chrestienne. Texte de la première édition française (1541), par Abel Lefranc. (1911)

Tracts in Three Volumes. Translated by Beveridge.

Acta Synodi Tridentinae cum antidote.

Commentaries on the Books of Holy Scripture.

Letters.

Sermons.

Dorner....History of Protestant Theology.

"The Person of Christ.

Doumergue...Jean Calvin.

Dyer.....Life of Calvin.

Diöckhoff. Die evangelische Abendmahlslehre im Reformationszeitalter

Destrech. Essai sur la doctrine de la sainte cène d'après Calvin.

De Wette. Luthers Briefe.

Donzé....La sainte Cène d'après Calvin. Thesis. Strasbourg..1857.

Erichson....Bibliographia Calviniana.

Ebrard....Das Dogma vom heiligen Abendmahl.

Encyclopaedia Lichtenberger..Art. Abendmahl.

Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics...Hastings.

Encyclopaedia....Herzog-Hauck.

do. Allgemeine.

Expositor....1903. Mackintosh.. The objective aspect of the
Lord's Supper.

1913. Moffatt. The Lord's Supper in the Fourth
Gospel.

1901. Anderson Scott....Zwingli.

Gretillat....Exposé de la Théologie systematique.

Gore. The body of Christ.

Dissertations.

Gardner.. The origin of the Lord's Supper.

Grafe. Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.

Godet. Commentaries.

Guy.....Was Holy Communion instituted by Jesus Christ?

Guericke..Symbolik.

Graebke...Die Konstruktion der Abendmahlslehre Luther.

Gautier...Histoire de Genève.

Hastings....Dictionary of the Bible.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

Hunter (Dr. Mitchell)....The Teaching of Calvin.

Herzog-Hauck..Encyclopaedia.

Hodge....Systematic Theology.

The Princetown Review..April 1848.

Henry. (Paul)....Das Leben Johann Calvins des grossen Reformators.

Harnack. History of Dogma.

Heyer.. L'église de Genève (1555-1909).

Hospinian...Historia Sacramentaria.

Herminjard. Correspondence des Réformateurs.

Hundeshagen. Die Konflikte des Zwinglianismus, Lutherthums, und
Calvinismus in den Bernischen Landskirchen.

Hagenbach... Dogmengeschichte.

Haupt..... Über die ursprüngliche Form und Bedeutung der
Abendmahlsworte.

Hopkins. Ratramnus or Bertram.

History..The Literary History of France.

Hermann. Union with God.

Hartmann und Jäger....Johann Brenz.

Hess. Leben Bullinger.

Hoen...De Eucharistia.

Jackson....Huldreich Zwingli.

Jäger. Luthers Religioses Interesse an seiner Lehre von der
Realpresenz.

Andrew Bodenstein V. Karlstadt.

Jülicher....Theologische Abhandlungen.

Koestlin....Luthers Theologie.

Kahnis. Die Lehre vom Abendmahl.

Lutherische Dogmatik.

Köhler....Zwingli und Luther.

Kampschulte..Johann Calvin, seine Kirche und Staat in Genf.(1869).

Klingenburg....Das Verhältniß Calvins zu Butzer. (1912).

Lindsay....History of the Reformation.

Loofs. Leitfaden.

Lambert....The Sacraments of the New Testament.

Leibnitz....Pensées....Paris 1803.

Lobstein. La doctrine de la sainte Cène: Essai dogmatique (1889).

Langereau.. Théorie de Calvin sur la sainte cène d'après ses
controverses avec Joachim Westphal et Heshusius (1896)

Loofs. Herzog-Hauck.. Article....Abendmahl.

Lang.. Die Bekehrung Johannis Calvins.

Lasco John A....Brevis et dilucida....tractatio.

Luther....Werke. Erlanger Ausgabe.

Weimarer Ausgabe.

Martensen. Christian Dogmatics.

Mackinnon. (Professor)....Luther and the Reformation.

Miller & Scodder....Wessel Gansforth.

Mirbt..Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des Romischen
Katholizismus....(Marburg).

Müller....(Julius). Dogmatische Abhandlungen.

Möhler.... Symbolik.

Martin.... Ratramne, Une conception de la cène au 9ième siècle.
(1909).

Mackintosh....The Person of Jesus Christ.

Expositor....March 1903.

Mansi.

Miéville. La sainte cène d'après Zwingli.

Mercersburg Review. Sept. 1850.

Manuscripts in the Consistory....Geneva.

Montet. Dogmatique Chrétienne....(1903).

Nevin....The mystical presence.

Niemeyer....Collectio Confession..

Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques....Ex Mss. Tom X. Pars. I....(1541).

Orr. (Prof).. U.P. Magazine. (Oct. 1900). Article....Zwingli.

Paterson (Professor)....The Rule of Faith.

Planck....Geschichte des Lehrbegriffs Protestant.

Pezel. Ausführliche Erzählung vom Sakramentstreit.

Philippi....Kirchliche Glaubenslehre.

Princetown Review. April 1848.

Penning.. Life and Times of Calvin.

Reyburn....John Calvin. Life, Letters, and Works.

Ratramnus.. De Corpore et Sanguine Domini.

Rothe....Kirchengeschichte.

Registres du Conseil de Genève.

Rilliet et Dufour....Le Catech. français.

Ritschl....Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus (1912).

Radbertus. Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini.

Ranke....Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation.

Schaff....History of the German Reformation.

History of the Swiss Reformation.

Creeds of the Evangelical Pro. Churches.

Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches.

Creeds of Christendom.

Seeberg....Dogmengeschichte..(Edition 1917).

Stähelin. Johannes Calvin, Leben und ausgewählte Schriften (1863).

Schultz....Zur Lehre vom heiligen Abendmahl.

Schweizer. Die Glaubenslehre der evang. Reform. aus den Quellen.

Die Christliche Glaubenslehre nach protestantischen Grundsätzen.

Die Protestantischen Centraldogmen.

Das Abendmahl im Zusammenhang mit dem Leben Jesus.

Scott..(Dr. Anderson)....Zwingli.. in Expositor. 1901.

Schaff-Herzog. Encyclopaedia.. Article.. Ubiquity.

Schleiermacher..Der Christliche Glaube.

Schultzen.. Das Abendmahl im Neuen Testament.

Spitta. Umchristentum.

Sanday.. Hastings Dictionary of the Bible.

Schneckenburger....Die Orthodoxe Lehre.

Vergleichung des Lutherischen und Reformlehrbegriffs.

Schenkel....Wesen des Protestantismus.

Smith (Ryder) British Weekly April 8th. 1926.

Schmitt. Das Religions-gespräch zu Marburg.

Stone. (Darwell^a) The doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.

Tritheme....Ratramne ou Bertram..Traité à Charles le Chauve..
Genève 1600.

Thomasius. Dogmengeschichte.

Christi Person und Werk.

Theologia dogmatica ad mentem St. Thomas Aquinitatis...(1899).

Tschackert...Die unveränderte Augsbургische Confession....(1901).

Tholuck....Calvini Institutio....(1559).

Ullmann. The Reformers before the Reformation.

Usteri. Zwingli und Erasmus..Studien und Kritiken.

Winer. The Confessions of Christendom.

Wace & Buchheim.. Luther's Primary Works.

Wernle..Der evangelische Glaube nach den Hauptschriften der Reformation.

I. Luther. II. Zwingli. III. Calvin.

Wilberforce. The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.

Weizsäcker..Apostolic Age.

Wernle. Akademischer Vortrag

Watt..Encyclop. of Rel. and Ethics. Article. Eucharist.

Wernle..Die Bekehrung Calvins.

Westphal..Historia Vituli aurei Aaronis.

Farrago confusaneorum...congesta.

Recta Fides de Coena Domini.

Simplex et fidelis narratio.

Walker (Williston).. John Calvin. (1906).

Zöckler....Herzog-Hauck..Vol. IX. p. 32.

Zahn..... Einleitung.

Zwingli... Opera..Schuler und Schulthess.

CHAPTER ONE. - Pages 1 to 18.

THE SACRAMENTS.

The ROMAN CATHOLIC Doctrine of the Sacraments at the beginning
of the Sixteenth Century.

LUTHER'S Doctrine of the Sacraments.

ZWINGLI'S Doctrine of the Sacraments

CALVIN'S Doctrine of the Sacraments.

CHAPTER I. - THE SACRAMENTS.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

For a right understanding of Calvin's teaching on the Lord's Supper, it is essential to take a preliminary survey of his ideas regarding the Sacraments in general, and in order that we may correctly define his distinctive doctrine, we must take account of the contemporary teaching of the Roman Church. It will also be necessary to take notice of the corresponding testimony of Luther and Zwingli.

It was not till the Council of Trent (1546-1563), that the Roman Catholic Church set itself to a clear codification of its doctrine, and to a positive statement of its beliefs. It was the Reformation that rendered this work necessary, for, as Harnack says, (1) "The dogmatic decrees of Trent are the shadow of the Reformation. That it was given to Catholicism to understand itself, to give expression to its distinctive dogmatic character, and thereby to rescue itself from the uncertainties of the Middle Ages, was a debt it owed to the Reformation". When Calvin began to teach and write, the Roman Catholic ideas on the Sacraments were those which had been set forth by Scholastic teachers. These ideas had been embodied in the Decretum pro Armenis in the Bull, Eugene IV.

"Exultate deo" of 22nd Nov. 1439, at the Ferrara-Florence Council.

(2) The brief and comprehensive definitions of this decree made the task of the framers of the Sacramental doctrine of the Council of Trent an easy one. The number of the Sacraments was fixed at seven, thus homologating the opinion of Lombard and Thomas Aquinas.

"The Sacraments of the New Law are Seven, Baptism, Confirmation, Orders, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, and Marriage.

These Sacraments of the new law differ much from the sacraments of the old law, for the earlier did not cause grace, but only prefigured a grace to be given through the Passion of Christ, while those which we have, both contain grace, and convey it to those who worthily receive it. " (3). Each sacrament has its material and form and its specific function. The material relates to the

elements of which it is composed, e.g. in Baptism, the water; in

(1) Harnack: Dogmengeschichte. VII. p. 36.

(2) Mirbt. Quellen, p. 162-165.
Mansi, XXXI. p. 1055. ff.

(3) do. 1054.
Mirbt. Quellen, p. 162-5.

the EUCHARIST the bread and wine, etc. The form relates to the words of the formula used by the priests. (1). "All the Sacraments are defined by three things, viz. by the elements as the materia, the words, as the forma, and the person of the minister administering the sacraments with the intention of doing what the church does, of which, if anyone be wanting, the sacrament is not observed". (2). Of the seven sacraments, Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders impress an indelible character upon the soul and may not be repeated. "Amongst the Sacraments, there are three which indelibly impress on the soul, character, that is a certain spiritual sign apart from the rest. Hence they are not repeated in the same person. But the remaining four do not impress character and admit of repetition". (2).

From the above decree, which was official at the beginning of the 16th Century, we see

1st. That for the Roman Catholic Church, Grace is produced EX OPERE OPERATO (through the act performed). It is operative, independent or apart from the merit of him who confers the sacrament, or of him who receives it, in such a manner that the external act (opus Externum) is the efficacious cause of the grace conferred. This was confirmed at the 7th session of the Council of Trent (March 3, 1547). "If any one saith that by the said sacraments of the New Law, grace is not conferred by the act performed, but that faith alone in the divine promise suffices for the obtaining of grace, let him be anathema." (3) The efficient cause of the Sacrament is thus physical. The other causes come after. The decision of the Councils of Florence and of Trent show that the Sacraments cooperate physically to produce grace.

2nd. As regards the reception of the Sacraments, (except that of Penance), Faith is not necessary. The affirmation of St. Thomas is, "Neither the true faith (recta fides) of the one baptising, nor the faith of the one baptised, is necessary, because the sacrament is accomplished, not by the righteousness of the man who gives it, nor of him who receives it, but by the power of God". (4).

(1) Professor Mackinnon, Luther and the Reformation. p. 84.

(2) Mansi XXXI. p. 1054. Mirbt, Quellen, p. 162-5.

(3) Schaff's Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches, p. 121. Canon 8. Winer, the Confessions of Christendom. p. 244.

(4) Theologia Dogmatica - ad mentem S. Thomae Aquinas (1899) III. p. 104-5.

But while faith is not necessary, Lombard and Aquinas assume the necessity of a good intention and disposition. Save for the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the intention of receiving the sacrament as a holy thing is requisite with adults for the validity of the Sacrament. But the intention need not necessarily be active and actual. It is sufficient if it has once been present, and has not been retracted. (1).

For Extreme Unction, still less suffices. "There suffices an intention, which has not been conceived in an explicit manner, but which is presupposed to have been present".

The Roman Ritual says, "This Sacrament is to be administered to those (*sensibus destitutis*) who have at other times asked for it, or who would probably have asked for it. (2) But none of these intentions are necessary for a valid reception of the Eucharist. This Sacrament does not pass with the act (*non transit actu*) like the other Sacraments, but it lasts after its administration, and it is for that, that it is validly received, independent of any intention whatever on the part of him who receives it or of him who administers it. (2).

In short, the receiver of the sacraments is passive, and it is sufficient if he has once had the intention, and has not retracted it. As regards the fruitful reception of Baptism and Penance, a supernatural attrition suffices, and for the fruitful reception of the other Sacraments, the state of grace suffices.

In short, the sacraments have their effect *ex opere operato* on all those who do not place an obstacle to them deliberately (*non ponentibus obicem*). (3).

From this statement, we can derive two practical consequences. (4).

1st. The Priest was everything. 2nd. The believer was nothing.

(1). *Theologia dogmatica - ad mentem S. Thomae Aquinatis* (1899)
III. Page 104 & 5.

(2) do. Page 107 & 8.

(3). Schaff - *Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches*. - Page 120.

(4). Doumergue. V. Page 322.
Candlish - *The Sacraments*.

1st. The Priest who was the Mediator of Grace, and dispensed the grace to the faithful was invested with almost divine powers.

"At the altar, the Priest is God, by Jesus Christ, when at the instant of the sacrifice, placing the victim in his state of immolation, he says, "This is My Body. This is My Blood". (1).

But the rôle of the priest is not less divine in the other sacraments, and even the Roman Catechism¹¹¹ speaks of these angels, "these gods". (2).

2nd. In the Roman Catholic Worship and ritual, the believer is nothing. We have seen that in the Bull of Eugene IV. (1439) (3), the believer is not mentioned. "All the Sacraments consist of three things, viz. the material, the form, and the minister."

If one of these is absent, the sacrament is not accomplished. There is no question of the believer. As Seeberg says, "It is more than the sacrament 'ex opere operato', it is the sacrament 'ex opere operantis'". (4).

"Thus", according to Doumergue, "all the evangelical faith denied, all the abuses, of sacerdotalism consecrated, all the rights of the individuality and personality of the believer suppressed, - That is what the doctrine and practice of Roman Catholicism results in - the centre, the source, the heart of the errors, superstitions, abuses, scandals, accumulated at the end of the middle ages. Declared to be of age at seven years, (the age when Louis XIV. and his councillors think that a child can throw off the parental authority), the Roman Catholic believer remains a minor all his life. Such was the abuse. One foresees what the Reformation will be". (5).

- (1). Bungener. Rome et le vrai. p. 291.
- (11). Cat. Rom. De Ordine.
- (111). THESIS, P. 2.
- (1V). Seeberg. II. p. 112. (1898).
- (V). Doumergue. V. p. 323.

LUTHER.

We next consider the Teaching of Luther on the Doctrine of the Sacraments. I. The Lutheran definition of the NATURE of the sacraments agrees in all essential points with that of the Reformed Church. It is true, as Seeberg says, (1) that Luther started with the Scotist idea, that the sacraments are efficacious signs of grace (signa efficacia). But this is modified by placing them in the most intimate association with faith. Their effectual operation depends on faith. They are signs which help and incite faith.....without which faith, they are of no benefit. (2). It altogether depends on faith, that the sacraments "effect what they signify" (3). The sacraments are symbols which awaken faith, and thus, promise grace to all, but confer it only on believers. Kattenbusch in the Herzog-Hauck Encyclop. (3rd Ed.) (Article, Sacraments), traces three stages in the development of Luther's ideas of the sacraments, and points out how in 1518 and 1519, he taught the distinction between the Sacramentum and the Res sacramenti, and regarded faith as the means which effects that the sacraments accomplish that which they signify. In the writings of 1520, all emphasis is placed upon the Word, and the Sermon vom neuen Testament is regarded by Dieckhoff (4), as a Siegesjubiläum on the rediscovered Word. In the Third period, 1525 onwards, there is a new development, when there is added to the Sign and to the Word, God's Command and Precept (Befehl und Ordnung). This is true in the main, but Luther's working idea of the Nature of a sacrament is perhaps best exemplified in the teaching of the Augsburg Confession, which was compiled by Melancthon in 1530.

Article XIV reads as follows, "Concerning the use of the sacraments they teach that they are ordained, not only to be marks of profession among men, but rather that they should be signs and testimonies of the will of God towards us, set forth unto us to stir up and confirm faith in such as use them. Therefore men must use the sacraments so as to join faith unto them, which believes the promises that are offered and declared unto us by the sacraments." (5).

(1). Seeberg. IV. p. 315.

(II). Weimar Edit. II. p. 686-693.

(III). do. p. 715.

(IV). Die evangel. Abendmahlslehre. p. 210.

(V) Schaff. Creeds of the Evang. Prot. Churches. p. 15.

II. As regards the Number of the Sacraments, Luther sharply criticises the Roman doctrine in the *De Captivitate Babylonica*. (1). "To begin, I must deny that there are 7 sacraments, and must lay it down, for the time being, that there are only 3, Baptism, Penance, and the Bread, and that by the Court of Rome, all these have been brought into miserable bondage, and the Church despoiled of all her liberty. And yet, if I were to speak according to the usage of Scripture, I should hold that there was only one sacrament; and three sacramental signs". (2). This position is still maintained in the *Apology for the Augsburg Confession*. Repentance however soon dropped out of the common usage, although the Lutherans retained Confession as a distinct Church institution. The Character indelebilis, Luther rejects as an empty fiction. (3).

III. THE EFFICACY OF THE SACRAMENTS. We have seen the important office which Luther assigns to faith in regard to the use of the Sacraments. Faith is absolutely necessary for the receiving of the sanctifying and saving benefit. The *Augsburg Confession* is perfectly explicit on the point. "Wherefore they condemn those who teach that the Sacraments do justify by the work done, and do not teach that faith which believes in the remission of sins is requisite in the use of the sacraments". (4). In this, Luther is in accord with the Reformed teaching and in opposition to Rome.

In one respect however, he differs from the Reformed, and approximates to the Romanists. He holds that the efficacy of the Sacraments is due to their own inherent virtue or power, a "power independent on the one hand, of the attendant influences of the Spirit (*extrinsecus accidens*), and, on the other hand, of the faith of the recipient". (5). Faith, indeed, is necessary to any saving or sanctifying effect, but that is only a subjective condition on which the beneficial operation of the power, inherent in the sacraments, is suspended. Luther's own favourite illustration was drawn from the case of the woman who touched the

(1). Wace and Buchheim, 147.

(2). do.

(3). Seeberg - IV. p. 315. Weimar Edit. VI. 408.

(4). Schaff - *Creeeds of Evan. Prot. Churches*. p. 15.

(5). Hodge - *Systematic Theology*, III. p. 503.

Saviour's garment. There was inherent healing virtue in Christ. Those who touched Him without faith, received no benefit. The woman having faith, was healed the moment she touched the hem of His garment. Her faith, however, was in no sense the source of the power which resided in Christ.

Luther did not at first hold this inherent power of the sacraments. In the *De Captivitate Babylonica*, he says, "Thus it is not Baptism that justifies any man, or is of any advantage, but faith in that word of promise to which Baptism is added: - - Thus it cannot be true that there is inherent in the sacraments a power effectual to produce justification, or that they are efficacious signs of grace". (1). There can be no doubt however, that in his maturer teaching, after he had come into conflict with the Sacramentarians, he ascribed to the Sacraments a higher dignity, and attributed to them an inherent power. We have thus the two essential elements in Luther's doctrine of the Sacraments.

1st. They have inherent, saving, sanctifying power.

2nd. That Power takes effect for good only upon believers.

This inherent divine virtue of the sacraments does not reside in the elements; nor does it flow from him who administers them; nor is it due to the concurrent operation of the Holy Spirit, but to the Word. The elements employed are in themselves mere elements. With the Word, they are divinely efficacious, because the divine Word, wherever it is, is fraught with divine, supernatural, saving, sanctifying power which always takes effect on those who have faith to receive it.

(1). Wace and Buchheim, p. 190 and 191.

IV. THE NECESSITY OF THE SACRAMENTS. Here Luther again approximated to the position of the Roman Church. He held with the Romanists that the grace which the sacraments signify is not received otherwise than in their use. According to Guerike (1), "The three churches, the Greek, Roman, and Lutheran are agreed in holding that in the sacraments, the visible signs as such, really convey the invisible divine things, and therefore, that a participation of the sacraments is necessary, in order to a participation of the heavenly gifts therein contained." We may summarise Luther's doctrine as follows. He is opposed

1st. To the doctrine of the Romanists which denies the necessity of a living faith in the recipient, in order to his experiencing the efficacy of the Sacraments, and which not only represents them as imbued with an inherent power, but also teaches that they confer grace "ex opere operato".

2nd. To the doctrine which makes the sacraments mere badges of a Christian profession.

3rd. To the doctrine which represents them as mere allegories, or significant exhibitions of truth.

4th. To the doctrine which regards them as merely commemorative, as a portrait or a monument may be.

5th. To the doctrine which denies to them inherent efficacy, and refers their sanctifying influence to the accompanying power of the Holy Spirit.

6th. To the doctrine which assumes that they confer nothing, which may not be obtained by faith without them. (2).

(11). Guerike Symbolik. p. 374.

(2). Hodge, Systematic Theology, III. 507.

ZWINGLI'S DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

Before we proceed to Calvin, we must first elucidate the views of Zwingli on the Sacraments. In our treatment of Zwingli's doctrine on the Lord's Supper, we shall try to prove two things.

I. That in his Eucharistic teaching, there were three definite periods. In the first and the third periods, his doctrine was positive and spiritual. In the 2nd period, when he was in conflict with Luther, we have teaching to which the epithet "Zwinglian" can appropriately be applied.

II. We shall show that Zwingli's idea of faith was rich and deep, and that it already contained much that is usually found in the idea of the Sacraments.

The very name Sacrament is considered by Zwingli to be unbiblical and offensive. (1). It had been adopted, he thinks, because it seemed to denote something high and mysterious. To the end of his life he held fast to the sentence which had always been the starting point of Luther. "It is not the sacrament that justifies, but faith". (1). In his early testimony, especially in the *Auslegung der 67 Schlussreden*, he adopted the Augustinian, purely symbolical view which was also advocated by Erasmus. (2).

The sacraments are nothing more than a "sure sign or seal".

(3). They are on the one hand, reminders to the believer in a symbolical form of salvation and its blessings, and are on the other hand, a means by which he testifies his membership in the Church of Christ. There resides in them, no kind of purifying, or sanctifying power. They are simply signs in the sense

indicated. (4). We dare not attribute to the symbols, the things, which belong to the divine power alone. (5). Only two signs of this kind are instituted by Christ. The other five sacraments are to be abolished as not being commanded by Him.

(1). Herzog-Hauck. vol. 17, p. 374. Baur. I. p, 229. ff.

(II). Seeberg. IV. 371.

(III). Works I. 239.

(IV). III. 229. 231. Baur. I. 421.

(V). IV. 119. Baur. I. 234. f.

Zwingli is of opinion that Luther has made too great approaches to the Roman Catholic teaching in the matter of the Sacraments.

(1). And yet, as Loofs has pointed out, Zwingli's views became milder and mellowed with the passing of the years. In his later teaching, he asserted firmly that the signs, (Zeichen), as tangible teaching, (versinnliche Verkündigung) can, and ought to strengthen faith. (2). In this sense, in his *Fidei Christianae Expositio* (1531), he reckons among the virtues of the Sacraments that they bring help and resources to faith, (auxilium opemque adferunt fidei). (3).

It is in this ^{his} final work, (4), addressed to King Francis I, that we get his mature teaching on the question of the sacraments. In Section V. entitled, "What is the efficacy of the Sacraments?", he warmly repudiates the accusation that he ascribes no virtue to the sacraments. He asserts on the contrary that they have not been given in vain, but that they are valuable in many respects. He enumerates seven virtues of the Sacraments. (5).

I. The sacraments are sacred and venerable things, because Christ has not only instituted, but practised them. (Works IV. 56).

II. They are testimonies to acts that have really taken place (Works IV. 56). It is then permissible to say that in a certain sense, the sacraments engender faith, but only a historical faith. (IV. 55).

III. They stand in the place (stehen an der Stelle) of the things they signify and therefore take their names. They thus render invisible things visible. (Works. IV. 56).

IV. They signify high and exalted things. (res arduas). The worth of the symbol is all the greater, when the thing signified is high and precious. As the marriage ring of the queen is not in her eyes an ordinary ring, only representing the worth of the material of which it is composed, so the sacramental bread is not common bread, but sacred (Works, IV. 56).

(1). Baur II. 493. f.

(2). Loofs Leitfaden. p. 802.

(3). Loofs Leitfaden, p. 802. Works, IV. 57.

(4). Works. IV. 45-78.

(5). Baur. II. 767.

V. The signs offer an analogy with the thing signified. In the Lord's Supper, this analogy is twofold. On the one side, it relates to Christ. As the bread sustains the life, so Christ refreshes, and sustains the soul. On the other side, it is related to the Church. As the bread is made up of a multitude of grains, (aus vielen Beeren zusammen fließt), the church is composed of an infinite number of members.

VI. The sacraments, especially the Supper, bring help to faith. It is through the avenue of our senses, that Satan tries to penetrate into the fortress of our faith. But when we use the sacraments, the senses withstand the seductions of Satan, and put themselves at the service of faith. (IV. 57 & 58). Elsewhere, Zwingli says that the participation in the sacraments is an exercise for our faith. (IV. 36. 117).

VII. The sacraments have finally, (in the sense of the Latin word,) the worth of an oath (Eid). He who, without being a Christian, is joined by this oath to the people of Christ, (IV. 11), does not discern the body of Christ. That is to say, he betrays both Christ and the Church, for, we form one body with Him, (IV. 54).

These propositions represent Zwingli's complete and final teaching on the Sacraments, and when we evaluate them, we have always to bear in mind that he held a deeply spiritual view of Faith.

CALVIN'S DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

It is significant that Calvin made his doctrine of the Sacraments a part of his doctrine of the Church. Bk. IV. of the Institutes has for its heading, "Of the external means or helps by which God allures us into fellowship with Christ, and keeps us in it". These means are precisely, the church, its functions and its institutions. As regards the Sacraments, they are "another help; akin to the preaching of the Gospel, to sustain and confirm our faith". (XIV. I).

We have seen how the prevalent Roman Catholic view at the beginning of the 16th Century, bound the grace of God inextricably with the sacramental transaction. This grace, a divine substance, was put into the sacrament as if by magic, and it acted on the soul, independently of the faith of the receiver. This view has been characterised by Schultz as "Magisch". (I). Luther in the De Captivitate Babylonica, and other writings, opposed this view. He displaced the Sacrament from the centre and put God's promise

(1). Schultz. zur lehre vom heiligen Abendmahl. p. 4.

and the faith of man into the principal place. Luther's action was considered as a real revolution, and as a logical development of this negation, there came the rational Spiritualism, first, of Karlstadt, and then of the Swiss, which replaced the objective importance of the Sacrament by a merely symbolical, and subjective view, and declared that the only necessary thing was the direct influence of the Holy Spirit upon the soul. This view held that as soon as faith is strong enough, it can dispense with the signs, so that in the last resort, the sacraments become mere official badges or 'rally emblems', (Bundeszeichen), by which the Church recognises its members. Luther however could not endure this emptying of the Sacraments. His realism which was ever hungry for assurance, protested, and he proclaimed against the Sacramentarians, the necessity and value of Church Ordinances and of the Sacraments, by which God desires to help doubting and restless consciences. We have seen how in his later doctrine, he made a half return to the Roman Catholic view, in his teaching on the objectivity of the grace offered to us in the Sacraments. "Wunderhaft" is the epithet applied by Schultz to the final phase. (1). Martin Bucer attempted to mediate between the realistic view of Luther, and the symbolical view of the Swiss. Formulae of agreement had been suggested between the Swiss and the Strasbourgers, and between the Strasbourgers and Luther, at the very time, when Calvin issued the first Edition of the Institutes in 1536. The question of the Sacraments had thus become central and important. Calvin, who wrote his early work in France, appears to have formed his own opinion. It was an opinion free from fanaticism, and prejudice, and was characterised by his flair for clear and clean cut solutions. It is possible that Luther's *De Captivitate Babylonica* and Melanchthon's *Loci* (1521), appealed to him as suggesting the view of the Sacraments, which was most in accordance with Holy Scriptures.

In the main point, he kept to the view of the earlier Luther, and rejected all magical intervention. He emphasised the value of the symbols which accompany and corroborate God's words and strengthen faith. He even went a little further with Luther

(1). Schultz. p. 4.

(went a little further with Luther) in his later writings, where he inveighed against the depreciation of the Sacraments. He did not wish to have anything to do with a faith which had no need of external help or support, and he maintained the union between the internal spiritual influence and the external presentations of divine grace in the sacraments and the Word. On the other hand, he refused to follow the reactionary tendencies of the later Luther, when he inclined to the "Magisch" view. Calvin rejected the material union of grace with the sacramental signs, and in the Lord's Supper, he adopted Zwingli's symbolical interpretation of the words of Institution. In this way, he sought to preserve Luther's lofty estimation of the sacraments free from all magical and superstitious elements. This independent position he defended clearly and strongly from the issue of the 1st Edition of the Institutes in 1536 to his death in 1564. In his Institutes, Calvin begins with a simple definition. "The sacrament is an external sign by which God seals on our consciences His promises of goodwill toward us, in order to strengthen the weakness of our faith. In other words, the sacrament is a testimony of the grace of God, confirmed by an external sign". (IV. 14. par I). There is no sacrament without a preceding promise. The sacrament is its sequel, and it is added to confirm and seal the promise, not because it is necessary to the promise, but because of our human weakness and needs. This is the basic idea of Luther's Sacramental doctrine as formulated in the 'De Captivitate Babylonica', which emphasised the testamentary character of the divine grace, and which stamped the sacrament as an attestation of the divine will. By this means, a relation was established between the divine promise and human faith.

According to this standpoint, there is no divine necessity for the Sacraments, but merely a human necessity for the strengthening of faith through symbolical signs. Only the feebleness of our faith, renders the external help necessary. In this way, as Wernle (1) says, Calvin shows a deeper knowledge of human nature than Zwingli, for he makes more allowance for our human imperfections. "But as our faith is slender and weak, so, if

(1). Wernle. Der evangelische Glaube. 'Calvin' p. 88.

it be not propped up on every side and supported by all kinds of means, it wanes and even falls". (IV. 14 para. 3). We are human, not spiritual, We "creep on the ground", and "cleave to the flesh". Therefore God accommodates himself to our weak comprehension, and tries to lead us to Himself by earthly means, not that there is miraculous power in these things, but because He has destined them for this end and signification. But some one may say, "How can the external sign give a greater assurance to the Word?" (IV. 14 para. 5). In reply, Calvin speaks of the "Sealing" nature of the Sacraments. He mentions the seal of the title-deed which procures a much stronger attestation of its contents, and he cites the word "seal" as used by Paul (Romans IV). and the example of the Old Testament covenants. He calls them also "exercises" which confirm our faith in the word of God, and because we are carnal, they are exhibited under carnal objects. (IV. 14 para. 6). He draws an illustration from Augustine who speaks of "visible words", and he himself uses another, "supports and pillars for our faith, but not the foundation, for that is God's work alone". That the wicked may also receive these signs, does not destroy their value, for, as Augustine, again testifies, "The efficacy of the Word is produced in the Sacrament, not because it is spoken, but because it is believed". (IV. 14 para. 7). The Sacraments are thus Hilfsmittel (I). They are means and expedients which God employs to nourish, exercise and to augment our faith. In all this, there is no thought which goes

beyond Luther's Sacramental doctrine of 1520.

But now, there follows a defence of this teaching against the left and the right.

Against the Left, there is a protest against the depreciation of the Sacraments. (IV. 14 para. 74). Calvin proceeds to deal with these Objections.

The 1st. objection of this class of teachers is based on the autonomy of faith which leans unshakingly, firmly, and undividedly on the mercy of God. Calvin shudders at this daring certainty, which, as he believes, has never been, and will never be attained by any man. Faith as the Bible teaches, and as we

know by our own Christian experience, has always to fight against the unbelief in our own souls, and must grow day by day through all the stages, until it reaches its full ripeness. "Lord, increase our faith; and 'Lord, I believe, Help Thou mine unbelief'. These are testimonies of genuine Christian experience. The expression, "To believe with the whole heart", does not mean perfect adherence to Christ, but to hunger and thirst and to sigh for Him with a burning heart. In all this, Calvin revealed himself as an experiential theologian.

II. A 2nd. Objection to the strengthening of faith through the Sacraments is founded on the plea that this diminishes the power of the Holy Ghost, Who alone is the beginning, the middle, and the end of faith. (IV. 14 para. 8 f.).

Without denying in the least the spiritual origin of faith, Calvin rejoices in the threefold bounty of God, that He leads us to Himself, by the Word, the Sacraments and the inner illumination of the Holy Spirit. He considers his teaching to be far richer than that of his opponents. He is also of the opinion that even the Bible considers the strengthening of faith by the Sacraments, so highly, that it at times teaches that the deprival of the Sacraments is a sign of the deprivation of the divine grace. (IV. 14 para. 12).

III. A 3rd class of objectors fear that through a high estimation of the Sacraments, there is a diminution of the honour due to God, and an attribution of power to the creatures. (IV. 14. para. 12).

Calvin maintains that God only uses means and instruments, in order to subdue all things to His glory. He uses such natural things as bread, and sunshine and fire to nourish our bodies, and spiritual things like the Sacraments, to nourish our Faith. Our trust however, is not in bread nor sun, nor fire, nor sacraments, nor ought the glory of God to be transferred to them. Our faith and confession should rise to Him who is the author of the sacraments and of all things.

IV. A last objection is founded on the ancient meaning of the Latin word, "Sacramentum" which designated the solemn oath made by the soldier to his commander on entering his service. (IV. 14 para. 13). But Calvin who is conversant with patristic teaching,

defends himself by explaining that the Fathers understood by the word "Sacramentum" a "Sacred Sign", and he illustrates his contention by the fact that the word "Fides" has acquired a new sense in Christian speech. Calvin does not object to the analogies drawn from the ancients, but he wishes to distinguish between the main and the secondary meanings of words. The first meaning of the sacraments is that they contribute to our faith in God. The secondary thing is, that they attest our faith before men. (IV. 14 para. 13).

And now, he proceeds to defend his teaching against the Right, against the overestimation of the Sacraments. (IV. 14 para. 14). There are two theories which Calvin rejects, which both agree that secret virtue resides in the Sacraments.

1st. THE SCHOLASTIC THEORY that the Sacraments of the New Law justify and mediate grace (1), if we do not interpose the obstacle of mortal sin. Calvin attributes this fatal, pestilential, nay 'devilish doctrine' to some exaggerated statements of the Fathers, especially of Augustine, and he opposes to them the Evangelical thesis, according to which, sacraments are only concomitant signs of God's Word, and that they can only be beneficial, if they are received by faith.

2nd. There is another opposing false teaching which holds that a hidden virtue is bound with the Sacraments, so that the Grace of God is distributed in them in the same way as wine from a wine cup. (IV. 14. para. 17).

Calvin maintains firmly that the only service of the Sacraments consists in their testifying and declaring the divine Love, and that their issue depends entirely on the opening of our heart and Spirit for the understanding of the testimony. The Sacraments are what messengers of good news are to men, or earnestings in ratifying pactions. "The Holy Spirit whom the sacraments do not bring promiscuously to all, but whom the Lord specially confers on His own, brings the gifts along with Him, makes way for the Sacraments, and causes them to bear fruit". (IV. 14. para. 17).

(1). See Council of Ferrara - Florence, page 1 of Thesis.

Perhaps in dealing with this 2nd. objection by the right, Calvin had in his mind some of the expressions of Luther and his followers. However there were other clear words of Luther which supported his view, and his treatment of the subject gives one the impression that he considers himself in accord with the main features of Luther's teaching.

He now speaks briefly on the ceremonies of the Old Testament, and he ascribes to them the same importance and significance as the two New Testament sacraments (Baptism and the Lord's Supper), with the only difference, that the former are related to the promised, future Christ, and the latter to the Christ now manifested and come. (IV. 14. para. 20).

Calvin touches here on a debated question which occasioned much dispute with the Anabaptists, - the question of the unity or of the opposition of the Old and New Testaments. On its solution depended the right or the wrong of Infant Baptism. Calvin treats of this matter especially in the 2nd. Edit. of the Institutes.

In concluding, Calvin gives a summary of his teaching on the significance of the Sacraments. "Baptism testifies that we are washed and purified; the Supper of the Eucharist that we are redeemed. Ablution is figured by water, satisfaction by blood". (IV. 14. para 32). It perhaps seems strange that he should say "in the blood", and not in the bread and wine, corresponding to the water of baptism. Wernle is of opinion that this expression was used in accordance with the first Epistle of John, where the water and the blood are mentioned as the "two witnesses". For this subtlety, Calvin is indebted to the Bible". (1).

There can be no doubt that in his doctrine of the Sacraments, Calvin stands nearer to Luther than to the Swiss. God works in the soul of man through the Holy Ghost, but He uses as instruments the external, visible Church Ordinances of Preaching, and the sacraments. Through these, He strengthens the feeble faith of man. But just because he felt himself to be such a strong Lutheran, he found it necessary to combat the superstition which mingled the outward sign and the substance of the Sacraments. For this reason, he stood up strongly in the 2nd Edition of the Institutes, for the decisive rôle of the Holy Spirit, whom he calls, in accordance with Augustine, "the interior teacher of the soul".

(1). Wernle, p. 92.

If the Spirit is absent, the Sacraments cannot offer us anything more than they can bestow on blind eyes, or the voice on deaf ears. The Spirit gives the force and power. The sacrament is merely the Servant. The Sacraments cannot move a hair without the power of the Spirit. Calvin uses as an illustration, the arts which one employs in the case of a man whom one wishes to persuade to a certain course of action. "Nothing is gained if the individual himself possess not a clear and acute judgment, by which he may be able to weigh the value of your arguments; if moreover, he is not of a docile disposition, and ready to listen to doctrine.

On the other hand, when opposite feelings exist, the person will acquiesce".

The same work is performed in us by the Spirit.

"That the word may not fall upon our ear, or the Sacraments be presented to our eye in vain, - - He softens our heart - - in short, transmits those external words and Sacraments from the ear to the soul" (IV. 14. para. 10).

The Sacraments show us God's grace, but the Holy Spirit conducts from the eye to the heart.

Christ used a similar illustration in the Parable of the Seed. It depends entirely on the heart, whether it take root or not, and the Holy Ghost works in the heart.

All that might sound too subjective, but to Calvin it had another meaning.

He combats with such words the overestimation of the Sacraments, but at the same time, he is convinced of their necessity for the faith of man.

"The Sacraments then, are inserted (encadrés) between the Word and the Spirit". (1). "Calvin was not actually Spiritualistic. He was a churchman without any ecclesiastical superstition. His Watchword on the question of the Sacraments was, "Neither too little, nor too much". (2).

(1). Doumergue, V. p. 326.
 (2). Wernle, p. 93.

CHAPTER TWO. - Pages 19 to 22.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER AT THE
BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER 2.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CONCEPTION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

If in order to have a clear idea of Calvin's Doctrine of the Sacraments; it is necessary to know the doctrine of Rome, of Wittenberg, and of Zurich, one can say that in order to understand and appreciate the theory of Calvin on the Lord's Supper, it is specially necessary to know the preceding theories of the Middle Ages, of Luther, and of Zwingli. For it is these that he refutes or conciliates. It is here that he exercises his function as a Mediator, and seeks that more excellent way which has ever led men to regard his doctrine as the Via Media. We shall not have to expound or discuss the ideas of the Roman Catholic Church on the Lord's Supper. What we have said of its general ideas on the Sacraments suffices for our purpose.

The Mediaeval Doctrine of the Supper was solemnly framed as a dogma at the 4th. Lateran Council (1215), and it is important to notice, as Harnack points out, that it is here immediately attached to the Confession of the Trinity and the Incarnation. "In this way it is represented in this symbol as having a most intimate relation to these doctrines, as, indeed, forming with them a unity". (1).

In the symbol of 1215, Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass were expressly taught. (2).

"Moreover, there is one universal church of the Faithful, outside of which no one whatever can be saved, in which Jesus Christ is at once Priest and Sacrifice, whose body and blood are truly contained in the sacrifice of the altar under the appearance of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body, and the wine into the blood by human power, so that for the effecting of the mystery of unity, we receive of His what He received of ours; and this Sacrament especially, no one can administer but the Priest who has been ordained according to the Church Authority, which Jesus Christ gave to the Apostles and their successors". (3).

(1). Harnack, Dogmengeschichte, VI. page 53.

(2). Mansi, XXII. page 982. (2).

(3). do.

The doctrine was defined in similar terms in the Bulle, "Exaltate deo" Nov. 22, 1439, Pope Eugene IV. (1). "The priest, speaking in the person of Christ, makes this Sacrament. For by virtue of the very words, the substance of the bread is connected with the body of Christ, and the substance of the wine with His blood, yet in such a way, that Christ is contained entire under the form of the bread, and entire under the form of the wine, also under any part of the consecrated wafer and consecrated wine, when a division is made, is the whole Christ. And, because through grace, man is incorporated into Christ and united to His members, it follows that through this Sacrament, grace is increased in those who receive it worthily, and every effect which material food and drink produce for the bodily life by sustaining and increasing and restoring and delighting it, this sacrament produces for the spiritual life. In it, as Pope Urban says, we recall the pleasant memory of our Saviour, we are held back from evil, we are strengthened in good, and we advance to growth in virtues and graces". (2). "The ideas of the Roman Catholic Church go back to two principles", says Doumergue, "from which all secondary ideas are derived. - Transubstantiation and the Mass. That being the condition previous to this. This being the logical result of that". (3). "With the doctrine of Transubstantiation, falls equally the theory of the Mass, and the idea of the Opus Operatum", writes Lobstein. (4) In the Roman Catholic system, the bond which unites the three conceptions of the Opus Operatum, Transubstantiation and the Mass is very easy to discern. It is true that each conception was formed independently of the other, and each has its distinct and particular history, but the documents in which the Roman theology has collected its classic and normative expression do not leave any doubt as to the indissoluble concatenation which joins in one unusual union, these three ideas, independent at the first.

(1). Mirbt. Quellen. p. 261. para. 12. Stone. The Holy Eucharist. I. p. 379.

(II).

do.

(III). Doumergue. V. p. 344-345.

(IV). Lobstein. La Doctrine de la sainte Cène. p. 176.

If the theory of the Mass were reduced to the simple commemoration of the sacrifice on Calvary, it would correspond to one of the most important motives which inspired the first thought of the rite of the Supper. But, according to the Roman Catholic, the Mass is much more than a Memorial, it is a sacrifice of propitiation, identified with the sacrifice on the Cross. It is the same victim, the same sacrifice, the same gift. (1).

Now, in order that the Mass should renew the sacrifice on Calvary, it is necessary that the body and blood of the Master should be substantially present under the accidents and appearances of the consecrated bread and wine. (2). Like the doctrine of the Mass, the theory of the Opus Operatum is a corollary of the dogma of Transubstantiation. The opus Operatum does not confine itself, as Moehler pretends, to affirming the objective character of the sacramental grace. (3). It attributes also to the Eucharist an efficacy independent of the internal state of mind of the communicant. The Opus Operatum is necessary, as soon as the premises are admitted; and these premises are summed up in the idea of the substantial presence of Christ under the elements of the Supper. The practical consequences that the Roman Catholic Church has drawn from those dogmatic axioms are numerous and far-reaching. The most common of these are the Reservation of the Host; the Adoration of the Sacrament; and the Celebration of the Corpus Christi.

Such was the Roman Catholic Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as it was afterwards adopted substantially by the Council of Trent.

"Two elements concurred from the beginning in its construction", says Seeberg, "the materialising of grace, and the hierarchical conception of the Church". (4).

Such was the teaching of the Church in the early part of the 16th Century. As Professor Mackinnon points out, "there had been opposition to this doctrine, since the days of Ratramnus and

(I). Council of Trent, Session XXII. Canon 3.

(II). Lobstein. Page 176.

(III). Moehler, Symbolik, Pages 255-257.

(IV). Seeberg, Vol.11. Page 144.

Radbortus in the 9th Century, up to the time of the Nominalist School which suggested a less crass form of belief, whilst submitting to the received conception as an authoritative doctrine of the Church". (1). We shall see in our discussion of the *De Captivitate Babylonica* what help Luther derived from the Nominalist School in refuting the Roman Catholic teaching. We shall meet in Zwingli's writings, a doctrine which was directed largely against the Mass, and in our study of the last Edition of the Institutes (1559), we shall find the ripe fruit of Calvin's thought, when he deals in fullest manner with all the abuses of the Roman Catholic Church.

Our next task is to state clearly the teaching of Luther and Zwingli on the Lord's Supper. We shall endeavour to define their particular theories, as they were gradually developed from the time of their earliest writings, through the course of their discussions and disputes, until the final statement of their doctrines.

We shall treat our subject historically, and our aim will be to discover in this early period, points of contact with the later testimony of Calvin, who found, when he began to teach in 1536, that the way had been prepared for him.

Calvin arrived in the fullness of the times.

(1). Professor Mackinnon. - Luther and the Reformation. Page 86.

CHAPTER THREE. - Pages 23 to 41.

LUTHER'S EARLY TEACHING ON THE LORD'S SUPPER.

A.... BEFORE HIS CONTROVERSY WITH KARLSTADT.

- I. 1518..Sermon on Maundy Thursday, on the Worthy Preparation
for the Sacrament.
- II. 1519..Ein Sermon vom hochw. Sakr. des Leichnams Christi.
- III. 1520..Sermon vom Neuen Testament.
De Captivitate Babylonica.
- IV. Summing up of Luther's Teaching.....so far.
- V. 1523. Vom Anbeten des Sakraments des heiligen Leichnams
Christi. (In answer to the Bohemian Brethren who
were Precursors of Calvin).

B.... LUTHER'S CONTROVERSY WITH KARLSTADT.

Karlstadt's Teaching on the Lord's Supper.

Luther's Reply in the "Wider die himmelischen Propheten".

CHAPTER 3.LUTHER'S EARLY TEACHING ON THE LORD'S SUPPER.A. BEFORE HIS CONTROVERSY WITH KARLSTADT.

It was characteristic of Luther that he should be able only by a very gradual process, to abandon the traditional tenets, and yet, even in his early writings, we can trace the working of that evangelical principle which was afterwards to form the basis of his Reformatory Testimony. This is clearly proved by Seeberg, (1). who, in his exposition of Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, proceeds from the writing "Ein Sermon vom hochw. Sakr. des Leichnams Christi," 1519, (2). We can, however, trace an even earlier strand of teaching in the Sermon on Maundy Thursday, 1518, on the Worthy Preparation for the Sacrament. (3).

I.

SERMON ON MAUNDY THURSDAY, 1518. - ON THE WORTHY PREPARATION
FOR THE SACRAMENT.

In 1518, Luther starts from the question how one may worthily prepare himself for the enjoyment of the Holy Supper. He has here nothing to do immediately with the theories about the relation of the elements to Christ's body and blood, but with the way to the blessing of the Sacrament. In place of the Romish requirement of freedom from mortal sins, in order to a worthy partaking, he desires Faith. For, "All sins that are committed in a state of unbelief are mortal sins". He does not require a definite measure of accurate, dogmatic knowledge concerning the Holy Supper. The true preparation is a soul, hungering for God's righteousness and grace, and a firm and joyful faith. "If anyone", says he, "be altogether too weak in faith, let him suffer himself to be borne in the arms of the Holy Mother, the Church, that the Lord may at least be induced to regard her faith. He should go to the Sacrament in faith, either that of the entire Christian Church, or, at least, that of some pious, individual Christian of his acquaintance. He should say, 'Lord, accept me in the

(1). Seeberg. Vol. IV. page 373.

(II). Erl. Ed. 27, page 25. ff.

(III). Erl. Ed. 17, Page 55.

faith of the whole Christian Church, or of this or that man, for however it may be with me, I must be obedient to Thy Church which bids me come to the Sacrament'". (1). In this early stage of Luther's teaching, as in the entire course of Zwingli's teaching, there is an emphasis on the Christian Community, and on the relation of the individual members one to another. In the Holy Sacrament, the elements of the Eucharist are a picture of this, for the bread is made up of many grains and the wine of many grapes. Even here, in Luther's earliest utterances, we see important divergences from the Roman Catholic tradition, There is, side by side, with the intercommunion of believers, a hint of the fundamental Protestant doctrine of the "Universal Priesthood of Believers". The grace of God is independent of the power and caprice of the clerical dispenser. Forgiveness may be announced not only by those in official positions, but with equal efficacy by any plain Christian brother. In the passage quoted, (2) along with the whole church, is placed the pious believer, upon whom the weaker Christian may lean for support. Already, Maundy Thursday, 1518, as the danger of expulsion from the fellowship of the Romish ecclesiastical organisation began to threaten him, Luther had made up his mind that salvation is not dependent on fellowship with that body.

II.

In 1519, there appeared EIN SERMON VOM HOCHW. SAKR. DES LEICHNAMS CHRISTI. (3).

In this Sermon, we have, what Kohn characterises as the "Mystic bridge between the Middle Ages and the Reformation - an attempt to regenerate the Romish Mass from the heart outwards, without denying the miracle of Transubstantiation". (4).

(1). Erl. Ed. 17, p. 62. Koestlin, Luther's Theologie,
I. p. 276.

(II). do.

(III). do. 27. p. 25. f. Dieckhoff, Die evangelische Lehre
p. 192.

(IV). Kohn. Die Lehre vom Abendmahl. p. 129.

According to this writing, there are three moments in the Sacrament - the Signs, the Import or Work and Faith.

The Sacrament or Sign, in and of itself is visible and outward. The Import or Significance is spiritual and inward, (in the spirit of man). It is to the exposition of the latter, which he calls also the Work or Fruit of the Sacrament, that he chiefly addresses himself in the document before us.

The Import or Work of the Sacrament he declares to be the Communion of Saints. The saints are members of Christ and of the Church, and all the spiritual possessions of Christ and His saints are imparted to and become the common possession of him who receives the Sacrament. On the other hand, all sufferings and sins become a common possession. (1). The individual receives in the Sacrament, a sign of such union with Christ and the saints, as makes the sufferings and life of Christ, as well as the lives and sufferings of all the saints, his own. The assurance is thus given to him in the Sacrament, that the sin by which he feels himself assailed, assails not him alone, but the Son of God, and all the saints on earth and in Heaven; and that Christ and the saints intercede before God for him. (1). As regards the recipient, he, upon his part, must bear the misfortunes of Christ and His saints. He must make the sorrows and adversities of all others his own. Here again, Luther employs the figure already used in the "De digna preparatione" of bread as composed of many grains. "Just as each separate grain loses its form and takes upon itself the common body of the bread, so Christ, with all his saints, takes upon Himself our form, and we become one loaf, one bread, one body. The communion is thus one of Unitas and Caritas". (2). He concludes this section with the comprehensive words, "From all of this it is clear, that this Sacrament is nothing else than a divine sign, in which Christ and all the saints, with all their works, sufferings and possessions, are given and appropriated for the consolation of all who are in distress, etc. To receive the Sacrament is nothing else than to desire all this, and firmly to believe that it takes place". (3).

(I). Cpf. Seeberg. Vol. IV. page 323.

(II). Dieckhoff, - Die evangelische Abendmahl, Page 95. sq.

(III). Seeberg, Vol. IV. page 324. passim.

Koestlin, - Luther's Theology. I. page 340.

And now, in the THIRD moment (Faith) of the sacramental transaction, we find ourselves face to face with the point of chief importance characterising the theory of Luther. It is FAITH which brings the sign and the thing signified together. He therefore proceeds, after the conclusion of the paragraph just quoted, to say, "Here belongs the third part of the sacrament, namely Faith, in which the power lies". "Thou must also desire and firmly believe that thou hast received it(the communion). etc." If, therefore, Luther describes such communion as a result and fruit of the sacrament, it can yet only become such, according to his view, through FAITH. Faith is to be constantly exercised by approaching the Sacrament; and in attending Mass. "It is necessary and good to go often to the Sacrament, or to exercise and strengthen such faith daily in the Mass. Faith makes the Sacrament out of a bare 'opus operatum' into an 'opus operantis'".(1). If we now take a general view of the contents of this work, we cannot but remark on the comparative mildness of Luther's polemic on the Mass. When we reflect upon the manner on which the prevalent practice of the Mass relegated the "Communio" to the background, we might have expected a stronger condemnation of the Roman Catholic rite. This has been noticed by Dieckhoff (2) and Graebke (3), who conclude that at this period, Luther's ideas on the Lord's Supper were as yet very undeveloped.

(1). Seeberg, Vol. IV. pages 324-325.

(II). Dieckhoff, Abendmahls lehre, Vol. I. page 205.

(III). F. Graebke, Die Konstruktion der Abendmahls lehre Luthers, (1908) Volume I. page 26.

"The meaning of the Words of Institution (Einsetzungsworte) were not yet understood". (1). "The presence of Christ's body is taken for granted, but 'floats yet in air'. Transubstantiation is not yet denied". (2). This writing however, is full of significance. If it is a question of a "Sehen", "Hören", and "Essen", in the Sacrament, here the "Sehen" is the characteristic moment. (3). It is an epoch point in Luther's development, and it is an approach to a clearer realisation of the truth, which he afterwards contended for against Zwingli, the truth of the Communion of the believer with his Lord. Luther came here, as Seeberg says, very near to the original thought of the Supper. (3). It may be, as Dorner (4). holds, the mere outward husk that he has grasped, but it gives promise of a transition to better things.

III.

THE THIRD STAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LUTHER'S DOCTRINE OF THE SUPPER PREVIOUS TO HIS CONTROVERSY WITH KARLSTADT.

We have here two writings dating from the year 1520.

(A). The Sermon vom Neuen Testament. (5).

(B). The De Captivitate Babylonica. (6).

In the former, Luther begins with a denunciation of the numerous ecclesiastical ordinances then in use, and describes the Holy Mass as the only order of divine service instituted by Christ. The entire Mass, according to Luther, with its whole nature, work, benefit and fruit, lies in the words of Christ with which He celebrated it, and has commanded us to celebrate it. Indeed, this whole sermon, as Dieckhoff (7) remarks, "reads like a Song of Victory (Siegers Jubel) over the rediscovered Word". "What devil", Luther asks, "suggested that the words should be hidden

(I). Dieckhoff, Abendmahls lehre, Vol. I. page 205.

(II). Graebke, Die Konstruktion der Abendmahls lehre Luthers
(1908). p. 26.

(III). Seeberg, Vol. IV. pages 324-325.

(IV). Dorner, Vol. I. page 156.

(V). Erl. Edition, Vol. 27. page 139. ff.

Seeberg, Vol. IV. page 325.

Dieckhoff, page 209.

(VI). Wace & Buchheim, pages 141-181.

(VII). Dieckhoff, page 210.

from the people?". In the Sacrament, everything lies in the words that Jesus speaks, which we should verily set in gold and precious stones". If then, we can characterise Luther's previous teaching on the Lord's Supper as an emphasis on the "Sehen", as Seeberg ~~says~~, (I), we can now describe this further development as a stressing of the "Hören". Now there appears the "Hearing" of the words of Institution as the chief thing in the Sacrament. These words of institution are not merely a formula of consecration, but a promise of grace, the words, "Cup of the New Testament" contain a new and imperishable Treasure - the forgiveness of sins. (I). The significance thus given to the words of Institution leads to the demand that they be not spoken by the priest as secret words, but "sung as loudly as possible", and to the desire that masses might be "read in German". (2).

As to the relation of Christ's body and blood to the elements, which in the writing of 1519, had been characterised as a "false subtlety" to rack ones brains about, (3) we get clearer teaching in the second treatise of 1520.

DE CAPTIVITATE BABYLONICA. (4).

This Treatise appeared in October, 1520. Luther had written it in full expectation of the Papal Bull against him, which Eck in September, began to publish in Germany.

Luther's friend Lange had called the "Address to the Nobility" a War Trumpet, but no less bold was the call to battle now sounded in this second work. In it, he represents the Papacy as the Babylonian Empire, and proves the tyranny exercised by Rome chiefly with reference to the Lord's Supper. This tyranny consists in Three things.

- (A). The Denial of the Cup to the Laity.
- (B). The Doctrine of Transubstantiation.
- (C). The Conception of the Mass as a Good Work or Sacrifice.

-
- (I). Seeberg, Vol. IV. page 326.
 - (II). Erl. Edition. 27. page 154. f.
 - (III). Seeberg, Vol. IV. page 324. f.
 - (IV). Dieckhoff, page 232. Wernle, Luther, page 27.
Wace & Buchheim, 141-181.

(A). He describes as the First Captivity, the withholding of the Cup from the laity. Communion in both kinds, he holds, is in conformity with the teaching of I Cor. XI. and the Synoptic Gospels. (151). He quotes the words of the Lord, "Drink ye all of it", and asks why the greater thing should be granted to the laity, i.e. that the Lord's blood was shed for them, and yet the less be denied them, i.e., that the sign of this blood ~~is~~ also here for them. Nevertheless, in characteristic fashion, Luther would not forcibly claim the right of double communion. (I).

We often find him "violent in word and compromising in action".

(2). He only insists that no one will justify the tyranny manifested in the withholding of the privilege. Meanwhile, let it be endured, just as one would, a captivity among the Turks, where neither element could be received. (155).

(B). The Second Captivity is seen in the doctrine of Transubstantiation. (155). This doctrine is a milder Bondage. Luther now confesses who it was that had first awakened suspicions in his mind concerning this subject, namely, Cardinal Cambray, and Peter D'Ailly, whose works he had studied already upon every opportunity, at Erfurt, (3). He had found there developed, he declares, with great acuteness, the opinion, that in the Sacrament, real bread and wine are present, and not merely their properties (150). It is therefore no new theory which Luther brings forward here, but the so-called Consubstantiation which Rupert of Deutz set forth. (4). D'Ailly had maintained that the co-existence of the body of Christ with the substance of the bread, by virtue of a Unio, could be at least as easily assumed, as a presence of the body under the properties of the bread, from which the substance has been removed. Luther then proceeds to say that afterwards, when he saw what kind of a church it was that had supported the decision, lamented by D'Ailly, i.e. the Thomistic and Aristotelian Church, he became bolder; and is now thoroughly convinced in his conscience of the correctness of the view, that it is manifestly

N.B. Numbers in brackets refer to pages in Wace & Buchheim.

(I). Wernle, page 27.

(II). Professor Mackinnon's Lectures, Dec. 1924.

(III). Seeberg, Vol. IV. page 325.

(IV). do.

and Wernle. page 28.

true bread and wine, in which are the true flesh and the true blood of Christ, no less than they (the Romanists), locate these under the properties of the bread and wine. (156). "The opinions of the Thomists, even though approved by Pope and Council, are still only opinions, and do not become articles of Faith, for that which is maintained without Scriptural proof or well-attested revelation, may be the basis of an opinion, but we are not compelled to believe it. (156). But the opinion of Thomas (I). in question, is entirely without any Scriptural evidence or reasonable basis and does not even show an acquaintance with philosophy and dialectics. The Evangelists clearly assert that bread was taken and blessed by Christ. Christ calls upon the disciples to receive and eat this bread, since this very thing, namely, the bread taken and broken by Him, is His body. Likewise, Paul calls it bread. He does not say "in the bread", but, "the bread is the Communion of the body of Christ". (160) We are to understand true bread and wine, just as a true cup. Even the Thomists do not hold to the Transubstantiation of the Cup. (157). On the question of the real relation of the bread and the wine to the body and blood of Christ, Luther only touches lightly. He enquires, with D'Ailly, why Christ cannot cause His body to be contained just as well within the substance of the bread as within its properties. He then employs as an illustration, Fire and Iron which are two substances. but which are yet so commingled in "glowing iron" that every part is both fire and iron. Why now might not, much rather, the glorified body of Christ be in every part of the substance of the bread? It will be observed that it is the glorified Body of Christ, as such, for which Luther claims such a possibility.

Finally, he appeals in support of his view (161) of the relation of the bread and the body, to the relation existing between the

(I). In this impeachment of the Thomists, Luther was mistaken, as Transubstantiation was sanctioned by the 4th Lateran Council (1215), before Thomas was born.....Prof. Mackinnon's Lectures. Dec. 1924.

two natures of Christ. For the bodily indwelling of the divinity of Christ, no transubstantiation of the human nature was required, but without assailing the integrity of either nature, we assert, "This man is God. This God is man". Thus, while both the bread and the body remain, we may yet say, "This bread is My body".

In general, in this whole discussion, it is evident that Luther is here concerned more for the refutation of his antagonists, than for the positive presentation of any theory of his own. He however makes the clear assertion that the consecrated bread and wine ARE the Body and Blood of Christ. They are still bread and wine, as well as the body and blood. The body and blood are as really present, as if the doctrine of transubstantiation were true, and yet, though transubstantiation is not to be imposed on any, it may be held by those who wish it. In this simple faith, the common people of the time believe the truth, that the body and blood of Christ are truly contained in the sacrament, without troubling themselves with the subtleties of the theologians about substance and accident. (161).

Of his own view, he says in conclusion, "Thus meanwhile, I shall stand scrupulously for the honour of the sacred words of God, to which I shall not suffer violence to be done by petty reasonings" (161)

The 3rd Captivity of the Sacrament is for Luther the Sacrifice of the Mass, which is indeed, by far the most iniquitous of all, and which has drawn with it an endless train of abuses. He knows that he has here to contend with an evil that has been firmly entrenched for many centuries, which has received universal approval, and which cannot be overthrown without changing almost the entire, present organisation of the Church. (162).

He, first of all, argues against the conception of the Mass as the rendering of a good work. Starting with the words of institution, he reiterates the principles previously announced, and is thus led to speak of the significance of the presence of the body of Christ in the bread. This, he steadfastly maintains. The Mass,

or Sacrament of the altar is for him, the Testament of the departed Christ. This Testament (163) is the promise of the forgiveness of sins, confirmed by His death. The Mass is essentially nothing more than the words of Christ in which He says, as it were, "Behold, condemned sinner, out of pure grace, I promise thee, before thou hast merited anything, the forgiveness of all thy sins and eternal life; and in order that thou mayest be sure of this, I will surrender My body and My blood, by which means I will, by death, confirm My promises, and I will leave behind Me both My body and My blood as a sign and memorial to thee of this My promise. As oft as ye do this, remember Me, extol My love. (166)" God Saves us, not by accepting our work, but by anticipating us with His promises. Nothing is required on our part, but faith, supporting itself on this divine word. (166).

From this consideration of the words of promise, Luther is led again, just as in the sermons already reviewed, to the peculiar nature of the sacrament as such. God is accustomed to affix signs or memorials to His promises and He accordingly attached to the highest promise of all, the very body of Christ as a memorial sign. The Word in the Mass is the Testament. The bread and the wine (together with the body therein contained) is the Sacrament. But the chief stress is still laid on the Word, and the remark is again added, that we can spiritually eat and drink at any hour, by nourishing faith upon the words of Christ. Of this spiritual reception of the Supper, Luther has already spoken in an earlier portion of the tract, when discussing the question whether any argument for the administration of both elements could be drawn from the words of Jesus in John, Chap. 6. (144).

He had there very decidedly pronounced against the application of that passage to the sacraments, and in this connection, had declared; "It is not the sacramental eating in which also the unworthy participate, but only the Spiritual eating in faith, that quickens us". It is only the Spiritual eating to which the words

of the Lord, "Whoso eateth not the flesh....hath no life in him", can apply.

From this conception of the significance of the Mass, Luther now draws also the inference that it cannot be presented as a satisfaction for the dead or for any condition of distress. The Mass is a Promise; and as such, can be applied to none but the believer and to him alone, by virtue of his faith. (176).

As an especial and yet greater offence, he designates the conception of the Mass as a Sacrifice offered to God, as it appears to be represented in the Canon of the Mass itself. (176). Even Christ Himself, at the institution of the Supper, did not offer Himself as a sacrifice to God, but, sitting at the table, He announced to His disciples the Testament, and offered to them the sign. (177).

"The Mass is more thoroughly Christian, the more it resembles that first celebration, which was eminently simple, without pomp or ceremony". (1).

That the Mass, even when administered by an unworthy priest, is perfectly valid, he most readily concedes (180). Just so, he declares, is the gospel proclaimed by ungodly men, and to this, he adds, "The Mass is really part of the gospel, and in fact, a short summary and epitome of the gospel". (180). Hence all sermons should be nothing else but an exposition of the Mass. The difference between a sacrament and a sacrifice is thus concisely stated. 'The former comes from God through the ministration of the priest and demands faith. The latter originates in our faith, and ascends to God, from whom it demands a hearing'. The latter, at least, he adds, requires a worthy priest, in as much as God does not hear sinners. (181).

(1). Wernle. p. 32. Harnack. Dogmengeschichte. VII. p. 218.

SUMMING UP OF LUTHER'S TEACHING. - 1518-1520.

We have now traced Luther's teaching through Three distinct and definite Stages. Yet we cannot say that up till now, he has developed a consistent theory. "New and Old, Evangelical and Catholic, still exist alongside each other". (1).

These early works do not even shew a consistent progress towards his later doctrine. Luther so far regards the Eucharist as a Beneficium, and not as an Officium. The details of his exposition vary. (2).

In 1518, bread and wine are pictures of the Unitas Cordium.

In 1519, the Transformation (Wandlung) of bread and wine is a picture of our transformation into the spiritual body of Christ.

In 1520, 'the body and blood are present to support the trustworthiness of the word of forgiveness, being outward signs of the death which was necessary, before the testament could have effect'. (3).

Luther is operating within scholastic limits, and has sought to invest the old formulae with an evangelical meaning, His great aim is to restore the Word to its rightful place in the sacrament, and alongside the sacrament, and to keep the sacrament from being regarded as a higher vehicle of grace than the Word. Indeed in the De Captivitate Babylonica, he asserts that he prefers to speak of only One Sacrament - the Word and several signs. (4).

Loofs regards this work as of Primary importance for the elucidation of Luther's original sacramental teaching. That teaching was still more clearly defined in 1523. (5).

Here we enter upon the phase which SEEBERG characterises as the ESSEN. In this instance, he had occasion to defend and justify his view of the presence of the Body of Christ in face of the writings of the Bohemian Brethren.

(I). Wernle. p. 32.

(II). Watt. Hastings Ency. of Rel. & Ethics. & Herzog-Hauck. XX. p. 184.

(III). F. Graebke. Die Konstruktion der Abendmahls lehre Luthers. p. 1 to 42.

(IV). Wace & Buchheim. p. 147.

(V). Loofs Leitfaden. p. 229.

IV. LUTHER AND THE BOHEMIAN BRETHREN.

Two treatises by their senior Lucas had been forwarded to Luther, and his comments on these are embodied in his well-known work, "Vom ANBETEN des SACRAMENTS des HEILIGEN LEICHNAMS CHRISTI". (1523). (1).

It is difficult to discover what exactly were the views of these people on the Sacrament, but from Luther's Discussion on them, we learn that they were not in strict accordance with his own. The Bohemians seemed to be anxious to avoid as far as possible laying themselves open to the charge of denying the presence of the body altogether. They rejected the Scholastic Doctrine of a transformation of the substance, and declared that, with the words of consecration, there is immediately present the true (verum) body of Christ, but spiritually. He is not present personally with the natural substance of His body. In this natural sense, He will not be present on this earth till the Day of Judgement. With the actual substance of His body, He has but one place, namely, at the right hand of God, the place to which He ascended before the eyes of His disciples. Christ, with His actual body is not here, actually and corporeally, but spiritually, and efficaciously. On the other hand, they always expressly disavowed fellowship with those who regarded the Supper as a bare memorial feast, or the bread as merely "figuratively" the body of Christ dwelling in Heaven. This view is a clear anticipation of the view of Calvin. It contained the germ of his theory, and Luther who never once publicly condemned the Genevan doctrine, dealt kindly with the interpretation of the Bohemian Brethren. It is significant that these Waldenses or Picards, as Luther calls them, afterwards placed themselves in closer relations with Calvinism. (2).

Thus, Luther was now compelled to mark out a clear line of discrimination between his own teaching and a theory of the Lord's Supper which opposed the entire doctrine of a Bodily Presence. He was not now combatting Romish errors, but what seemed to him false teaching on the Reformation ground. (3).

-
- (I). Dieckhoff, page 453.
 Koestlin Vol. II. page 64.
 Erl. Edit. 28. page 588. ff.
 (II). Koestlin, Vol. II. page 261.
 (III). Dieckhoff, page 238.

VOM ANBETEN DES HEILIGEN LEICHNAMS CHRISTI. (1).

In the year 1523, he addressed to the Brethren this Treatise. In the Introduction, he refers to a Catechism, by the Senior Lucas, which teaches that Christ is in the Sacrament not independently, or naturally, and also, that the Sacrament is not to be adored. He then proposes to consider how "so many frivolous spirits have taken offence" at Christ's Words of Institution, upon which everything depends. He does not designate the parties he has in mind, but the reader is naturally led to think of the interpretation proposed by Honius. (2).

In the first place, for instance, he proceeds to say, some have held that there is simply bread and wine in the Sacrament, and that the bread only signifies the body of Christ, and likewise the wine His blood. Against this, he presents the warning to which he, throughout the entire controversy concerning the Lord's Supper, constantly returns, namely, that we should let Reason go, and abide in simplicity on the words of Christ, who will not deceive. It is sacrilege to give a divine word, without a reason from Scripture, any other than the natural signification. And that the bread is the body of Christ, (3) is a statement which Faith endures and opposes in no single passage. If there be now nothing to compel faith to do otherwise, we must, as has been said, let every word stand in its natural significance.

In all these discussions, we have propositions, around which was waged the succeeding controversy between Luther on the one hand, and Zwingli and Oekolampadius, on the other.

Luther himself, afterwards, in the midst of the controversy, referred to these earlier utterances, asserting that he had in his letter to the Waldenses already, refuted the Significationists, before anyone had ever thought that they were coming.

(I). Erl. Edit. 27. p. 388. ff.

(II). Seeberg. IV. p. 328.

(III). Seeberg. IV. p. 328. ff. Erl. Edit. 28. p. 390.

As a Second Error of the Bohemians, Luther instances their opinion based on I. Cors. 16 & 17, that the body is only the spiritual body of Christ, or the Congregation. (1).

According to this view, "the essence of the sacrament consists merely in the incorporation into the spiritual body of Christ, while bread and wine are appointed as a certain sign for this incorporation, and for the exercise of this spiritual body. This spiritual body, whose head is Christ, is typified by the congregation".

In opposition to this new view, Luther draws a clear line of distinction between the spiritual body of Christ, which we as believers constitute, and the natural body which is given and distributed for us in the Supper. Referring to I Cor, 10 & 16, "the bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?" he interprets it as follows, (1). "When we eat such bread, we all together, each as much as the other, receive and enjoy, not simply bread, but the body of Christ." In the communion of the body of Christ, which Paul declares the bread broken by us to be, he sees a common enjoyment of the real natural body of Christ by all who break the bread, i.e. who participate in the celebration of the Sacrament. Luther bases his view upon the Apostle's declaration concerning the "Breaking". "This", says he, "without doubt, means the handling of the Supper in giving and taking. Hence, the apostle is speaking of that communion which the breakers of the Sacrament, each one as much as the other, enjoy. He cannot moreover, have in view that spiritual communion in the body of Christ, which the Bohemians assert, since that spiritual communion is not enjoyed by all who, break the bread, although they all have part in the Sacramental Communion". Thus Luther not only finds in I Cor. 10, a testimony to the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament, but the passage conveys for him especially the idea, that there is a reception of this body upon the part of such as are not spiritually united to Christ, i.e. upon the part of everyone who, with other participants, receives the bread.

(1). Erl. Ed. page 390. f.
Seeberg, IV. page 328. f.

The doctrine that unworthy guests at the Communion also receive the body of the Lord, is thus here plainly expressed. This doctrine was afterwards to prove a great stumbling block in the way of union with the Swiss, and notwithstanding Bucer's mediating efforts, it prevented a general acceptance of the Wittenberg Concordia of 1536. But perhaps, the ANBETEN DES SAKRAMENTS DES HEILIGEN LEICHNAMS CHRISTI is noteworthy for its repeated emphasis on the Word - the ["]Haupt^tstück["] of the sacrament, inasmuch as it brings with it Christ with His Flesh and blood, and all that He is and has.

In conclusion, Luther says that the Adoration (Anbeten) is admissible, but the best communicants are those who are altogether engaged with the words of the sacrament. "Let one but exercise faith aright in the Word of the sacrament, and the Adoration will come in very suitably of itself".

So far, we have been dealing with Luther's earlier utterances, but from the beginning of the controversy with Karlstadt, his doctrine began to be more distinctive. (1). On the negative side, it had to be free from the errors and superfluous miracles of Rome, and on the positive side, it had now to be developed against a theory which denied that the sacrament was a means of grace at all, and in particular, refused to allow any real presence of Christ in the Supper. (1).

B. - Luther's Conflict with Karlstadt. (2).

Andrew Bodenstein of Karlstadt. was a professor in Wittenberg, when Luther was still in the Wartburg, and Karlstadt was a power in the town. Wittenberg became the scene of tumult and disorder. Radical reforms were introduced, most of them good, but their hasty execution bred excitement, and this was fanned into uproar and riot by the appearance of the Zwickau prophets. To Luther, Karlstadt was the man wholly responsible for this tumult - a fanatic himself and an associate of Fanatics.

(I). Seeberg. IV. p. 328.

(II). Watt. Ency. of Rel & Ethics. & Dieckhoff. p. 299.

KARLSTADT'S WRITING.

In the year 1525, there appeared Karlstadt's Exposition of the words "Hoc est corpus meum". In this work he positively denied that the presence of Christ in the Supper could be proved from Scripture. In the sentence, "Take, eat, this is my body", according to Karlstadt, Christ pointed to His body in which He was sitting at the table, and said of it, that it would now be given over to suffering and death. The taking and eating, he claimed, relate to the bare bread. To the eating of the bread then, the words of the Lord which follow, "Do this in remembrance of Me", are supposed to refer. The word "TOUTO" being neuter, cannot refer to "ARTOS" (bread) which is masculine.

Luther could hardly be expected to accept this exegesis, but with much of Karlstadt's teaching, he might have very well agreed. He explains his position clearly in a letter to the Christians of Strasbourg (15 Dec. 1524) (I). "I will confess that had Dr. Karlstadt or anyone else been able five years ago to show me that there is nothing in the Sacrament but bread and wine, he would have done me very great service. My trials have been so severe, and my struggles and exertions upon the point so violent, that I would fain have escaped from them, as I well saw that I could thereby have given the severest blow to the Papacy. - - - But I am shut up and cannot escape. The text is too strong and will not suffer itself to be torn from its meaning by words". Besides this, (2) Luther could never see Karlstadt as a thinker differing from him in certain points of Theology.

He always saw him as the representative of a fundamentally different type of piety, or rather as devoid of true evangelical religion altogether, and so in his various answers to Karlstadt and to those associated with him, though he always came back to the Sacrament, he attacked their whole conception of salvation and its appropriation. (3) Karlstadt had no conception, he urged, of the needs of troubled consciences, either in the Sacrament or

(I). Ullmann, Vol. I. page 511.

Loofs, page 808.

Harnack, VII. 262.

(II). Erl. Ed. XXX. 308.

Koestlin, II. 72.

(Realpresenz.

(III). Jäger, Luther's religiöses Interesse an seiner Lehre von der.

in Christ Himself. What was needed was "Comfort" through assurance of the forgiving grace of God. This comfort was not to be found in any mere subjective remembrance. Some objective guarantee was wanted. (1). In January 1525, Luther replied to Karlstadt.

WIDER DIE HIMMELISCHEN PROPHETEN.

This new work is most important, containing as it does, a refutation of the two arguments which claimed Luther's attention afterwards in his principal treatise against Zwingli in the year 1527.

(A). Karlstadt argued firstly, (2) that Jesus Himself declares in John VI., 63 that "His flesh profiteth nothing". Luther inquires of what profit, then could that flesh of Christ have been to which the Lord is said to have pointed, when He said "Touto". He demands too, that a discrimination be made between flesh, and Christ's flesh. The saying in John VI. 63, is not to be referred to the flesh of Christ at all, but is to be interpreted in connection with the following declaration, i.e. 'that the words of Christ are spirit and life'. By the "flesh which profiteth nothing", Christ accordingly meant a "carnal understanding" (intellectus carnalis) of these, His divine words. "Flesh" here, as elsewhere in the Scripture, denotes the "carnal" disposition, will, understanding, and fancy.

(B). The second argument of Karlstadt above referred to was, that Christ would have to leave His place in Heaven in order to enter into the bread, or, as Luther found the objection expressed by Karlstadt: "Christ would have to spring up at once (aufspringen) whenever summoned by the putrid breath of a drunken priest". In response, Luther refuses to hear anything of an interpretation according to which, Christ "ascends and descends". He cites the passage (3) Ephesians I, 23, "the Church which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all", declaring that Karlstadt

(I). Professor Watt, Encycl. R. & E. Hastings.

(II). Seeberg IV. 329.
Koestlin II. 23 passim.

(III). Seeberg IV. 329.

does not understand the Kingdom of Christ, how Christ is in all places, and according to this text fills all things. He pressed the case still further, showing that this same spirit would then also have to contend that the Son of God, when He was in His mother's womb, had been compelled to forsake Heaven.

Luther thus places side by side, the omnipresence of the exalted Christ (Eph. I. 23), (which was held to involve the possibility of His presence also in the Lord's Supper), and an existence in Heaven which must be attributed to the God Man as continuing without interruption even during the incidents attending the beginning of His Incarnation. This is the first mention of an important positive element in Luther's teaching. A new tendency now became evident in his conception of the subject, especially in connection with the question as to the relation of the body and blood to the visible elements. The "sophistry and keen wit of Karlstadt and his horde" demanded to know how Christ could say of the bread, "This is My body". Luther had in a previous work used the illustration of the "Glowing Iron", and of "the two natures in Christ". He now proceeds to say that if this mode of speech does not satisfy them, they might avail themselves of the fact that the Scriptures make frequent use of the figure known as Synecdoche, (1) mentioning the whole of an object when they mean to designate a part only. Thus, for example Moses calls the Children of Israel "God's peculiar people", although in reality, only the minority belonged to God, or were His true children. Thus also those very wise people might have interpreted the whole object of which Christ speaks, i.e. the bread and the body, as indicating the body alone, understanding Him as saying, "This is My body", without making any mention of the bread. The bread is indeed also present, but inasmuch as everything depends on the body, He speaks as if there were nothing there but the body. (2). We see that by the TOUTO, Luther understood the bread, not however, as bread alone, but as clearly marking a sacramental unity with

(I). Herzog - Hauck XX. page 185.

(II). Erl. Ed. XXIX. 267.

the body of Christ, which sacramental unity exists before the words were spoken. This mode of explanation by "Synecdochē" (1). marks on epoch point in Luther's teaching.

All throughout his later writings, he maintained this content of the word TOUTO. (1). It seemed to him the only fully Christian one, and he always claimed that it was literal. This work "Wider die Himmelschen Propheten" was Luther's reply to the theory of Karlstadt.

(1). Herzog-Hauck. Vol. XX. page 185.

CHAPTER FOUR. - Pages 43 to 52.

ZWINGLI'S TEACHING IN ITS THREE PERIODS.

Introduction....THE THREE PERIODS.

- (A). Before he came into conflict with Luther in 1524.
- (B). Zwingli in conflict with Luther. (1524..1529).
- (C). Zwingli's Return to his early, positive Teaching (1529..1531).

A.

ZWINGLI'S TEACHING BEFORE 1524 - ZWINGLI AND THE MASS.

Archeteles (1522).

18th Article of the 67 Schlussreden - Jan. 1523.

Auslegung der 67 Schlussreden...July 1523.

Letter to Wyttenbach.....June 1523.

Summing up of Zwingli's Teaching....so far.

De Canone Missae. August 1523.

The Sources of Zwingli's Early Teaching -----ERASMUS.

CHAPTER FOUR.

ZWINGLI'S TEACHING IN ITS THREE PERIODS.

Introduction.

But now, two more formidable exponents of Eucharistic doctrine appeared on the field, ZWINGLI, the LUTHER of Switzerland, and OEKOLAMPADIUS, its MELANCHTHON, had arrived at a different interpretation of the words of institution from that of Karlstadt, and they were able to support it with exegetical and rational arguments.

Various points of Luther's teaching are first brought into prominence in his controversy with Zwingli and Oekolampadius, and our next task is to examine the writings of Zwingli, before he came into conflict with the Theologian of Wittenberg.

This investigation into Zwingli's original teaching is all the more necessary, as it will be our aim to show that in Zwingli, there is a more positive element than is usually associated with his name.

If we accept the conclusions of Doumergue (1), Dorner (2), Köhler (3), and Miéville (4), we are able to assert that the description 'Zwinglian' can not with justice be applied to Zwingli.

According to the general opinion, Zwingli made of the Supper a 'pure symbol', a 'mere memorial'. Thus for example,

(I). Doumergue. V. p. 351.

(II). Dorner I., p. 307.

(III). Walter Köhler. Zwingli und Luther. p. 15.

(IV). Miéville. La sainte Cène d'après Zwingli. p. 26.

Seeberg (I) "The theory of Zwingli is simple. The bread and the wine are signs of the body and blood of Christ, given for us, and recall to us the work of Redemption. The word 'IS' is synonymous with 'SIGNIFIES'. Faith alone can apprehend salvation and appropriate it. But faith has to do only with spiritual entities. In consequence, to eat the body of Christ can only signify that we appropriate by faith the salvation acquired by the sacrifice of this body. In the Supper, Christ is present only by the contemplation of faith, and not essentially and really. 'Faith in Christ is really the eating of His body. The body is then eaten, when His death for us is believed'. (2). If we would take the eating of the body of Christ seriously, we would come into conflict on the one hand, with the maxim, that the flesh profiteth nothing, and on the other hand, collide with the limitation of Christ's body to one place. Moreover, at the time of the institution of the Lord's Supper, the blood of Christ had not yet been shed. (III. p. 333).

The Lord's Supper is thus, according to Zwingli, on the one hand, a memorial celebration, designed to remind us of the redemption wrought by the death of Christ, and on the other hand, a profession of adherence to Christ in the presence of the congregation, and thus, the assuming of an obligation to lead a Christian life. (III. p. 601). (3)".

Such is Seeberg's opinion of Zwingli's Eucharistic doctrine.

Doumergue, Dorner, Miéville, Köhler, Prof. Orr and others, however point the way to a more accurate description. (4).

The Encyclopaedia Lichtenberger (5) also supports this more favourable view. "It is said that Zwingli has insisted on the idea that the bread and wine are only symbols of the body and blood of Christ, that the Eucharist feast is a simple memorial, but one is able to quote easily numerous passages, where Zwingli calls the Supper 'the nourishment of the Christian soul'. In short, Zwingli defends the right of a healthy mysticism. His conception of the Supper does not merit the description of a vague and empty

(I). Seeberg. IV. p. 378.

(II). Opera. III. p. 595.

(III). Seeberg IV. p. 378.

(IV). Prof. Orr. U.P. Magazine. Oct. 1900. p. 459.

(V). Encyclopaedia Lichtenberger. Art. Abendmahl.

sign. In consequence, to reconstruct the dogma of the Supper, it is necessary to develop greatly the tradition of Zwingli". Since Baur's two-volumed Work, Zwingli's Theologie, ihr Werden and ihr System (1885-1889), it has for long been generally accepted that there was present from the beginning, in Zwingli's theory of the Supper, a certain antagonism to that of Luther (1). The stand-point of this thesis is, that there was in Zwingli's testimony, as in Luther's, a natural development through three clearly defined stages.

We shall try to show that in the first period, when he was contending with the upholders of the Romish Mass, there were positive elements in his teaching (2), which have been generally overlooked; that in the second period (3), during his conflict with Luther; the NEGATIVE element was emphasised; but that towards the end of his life, under the mediating influence of Bucer, he returned to the more positive views he held at the outset. This made it possible for him to approach as far towards Luther as he did at Marburg in 1529. It also made possible the production of the Brief Exposition of Faith to Francis I of France in 1531, - his Swan Song (4), which is a near approach to the richer view of Calvin. We then claim for Zwingli a natural development, and we sum up what we have to say of his first phase and period under the rubric - Zwingli and the Mass.

A. ZWINGLI AND THE MASS.

Very early in his career did Zwingli realise that the Roman Catholic Mass did not conform to the original intention of the Supper. The first traces of his teaching are found in the Apologeticus Archeteles (5), which dates from August 1522. The Bishop of Constance had reproached him with wishing to introduce changes into the church..

-
- (I). Köhler. p. 2. Baur. II. p. 272.
 (II). Dieckhoff. p. 449.
 (III). p. do. p. 457.
 (IV). Schaff. German Ref. II. p. 677.
 (V). Mievile. La doctrine de la sainte Cène d'après Zwingli.
 p. 27. Opera III. p. 26-74. Baur. II. p. 48.

"But", replies Zwingli, "If nothing is to be changed, why has the Synaxis (Communion) been changed or rather been mutilated? Formerly it was administered under both forms according to the Apostolic custom, and institution" (III. p. 70).

The Supper is thus from the beginning presented as connected with the church (1). Immediately before this passage, we read, "Faith is the only ground of salvation. For by a single offering, He has made the sanctified perfect for all time" (Hebs X & 14). These words contain the seeds of all the subsequent development (1).

1st. The Mass cannot be a sacrifice.

2nd. It is Faith which is essential in the Supper.

3rd. The Supper is in direct connection with the church.

Here are the fundamental ideas of Zwingli on the Supper - ideas, which, in the course of time, only became more definite and clear. It will be seen that he and Luther had different points of departure. Zwingli started from the Mass, Luther, from the Eucharist. To this, must be added differences in training and religious experience. Luther's education was monastic. His theological studies were patristic. Luther's first eucharistic controversy was with over zealous Reformers; Zwingli's with upholders of the Mass. Luther's general idea of a sacrament received its evangelical shape in conflict with Rome over Indulgences, and Penance; Zwingli's, in controversy with the Anabaptists over Baptism. Against magical ideas of sacramental grace, Luther was led to emphasise personal understanding and belief. Against individualistic notions, Zwingli brought into prominence the Social side of Christianity, the relations of the sacraments to the community.

In the 18th Article of the 67 SCHLUSSREDEN, which Zwingli had prepared for the 1st Zurich Disputation, (Jan. 1523), he now

came forward boldly against the Sacrifice of the Mass. "Christ, who offered Himself once on the cross, is the sufficient and perpetual sacrifice for the sins of all believers. Therefore the Mass is no sacrifice, but a commemoration of the One Sacrifice of the Cross, and a seal of the redemption through Christ". (2).

(I). Mieville. p. 27. Baur. II. p. 269. Dieckhoff. p. 433.

(II). Opera. I. p. 153. Kohler. p. 19. Wernle. p. 58.

Two points are here emphasised by Zwingli.

1st. The Supper is a Commemoration of the Unique sacrifice of Christ.

2nd. It is for the participator, a seal or pledge by which he is assured of the redemption effected through Christ. (1).

It is in the AUSLEGUNG der 67 SCHLUSSREDEN (The Development of the Articles), published in July 1523, that we find for the first time, a detailed exposition of the views of Zwingli on the Supper, in as far as they are opposed to the doctrine of the Mass. (2).

In the course of this discussion, he informs pious souls that he has no wish to take from them the body of Christ, and the Heavenly food, that he is far from scorning the Holy Sacrament. He rather wishes to re-establish it, as God instituted it. He calls attention to the similarity of his doctrine to that of Luther. "I have on this account for some years called the enjoyment of this meal a commemoration of the suffering of Christ and not a sacrifice. But for some time past, Martin Luther has entitled this Meal a Testament, a name with which I willingly concur: for while he has named it according to its nature and property, I have named it according to its use and employment, and there is no contradiction between the two names". (3). And in general, Zwingli gives in the same exposition, a solemn assurance to the simpleminded "that there is no dispute as to whether the body and blood of Christ are eaten and drunken, for no Christian has that in doubt, but the dispute is whether it is a Sacrifice, or only a Commemoration of a Sacrifice". (4).

In the 18th Article and in the Exposition of it, we have to observe two things, as Dorner says,

-
- (I). Baur II. 269.
 - (II). Miéville, page 28.
Works I. 169.
 - (III). Miéville page 29.
Wernle, 60. ff.
Köhler 20 f.
 - (IV). Baur. II. 269.

1st. The characteristic thing in Zwingli's writings at this period, was his opposition to the conception of the Supper as a sacrifice or mass.

2nd. He distinctly represents the Supper as a Commemoration, and MORE. It is in some sense, an eating and drinking of the Body and Blood of Christ. It is not only a Commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ, but in some sense, a renewal of the benefit of the sacrifice. (1).

LETTER TO WYTTENBACH. (2).

The letter which Zwingli wrote to his former teacher, Thomas Wytttenbach is of great importance for the knowledge of his views on the Supper at this time. It is dated 15th June 1523.

Wytttenbach had asked him his opinion on the Supper, especially on the subject of Transubstantiation and the preservation of the sacramental elements. Zwingli replies to him, "Bread and wine are not transubstantiated, and profit nothing, if Faith is not present. Faith is the essential thing in the Supper. Faith is the organ of appropriation. The Supper strengthens feeble faith (as the bread sustains the body). It makes the spirit joyous (as wine rejoices the heart of Man). But it is necessary that he draw near the Holy Feast with Faith, if he wishes to experience the salutary effects of it. Faith must be already present in the man. Otherwise, far from finding strength and joy, he eats his own condemnation, for he does not discern the Lord's body. That is to say, he does not see in the body and in the blood of Christ that which they really are, our redemption and the washing away of our sins".(3)

What Zwingli affirms here of the Supper, agrees with his general ideas of the sacraments. The external signs have no value in themselves. It is Faith which is the essential thing. If man had an immoveable faith, he would have no need of the sacraments, but if his faith is feeble, then he finds a support in them. "Advanced Christians will have no need of the Supper, then?" someone says. "That is true in the abstract," Zwingli replies, "But not in fact, for the more advanced the Christian is, the more need he will feel of coming to the table to enjoy the delights provided there".

(I). Dorner. I. p. 300.

(II). Opera. VII. 297-300. Baur II. p. 273. Dieckhoff. p. 429.

(III). Köhler. p. 22. f. Miéville. p. 35.

These delights, he sees in a more intimate union with God. He cannot define this union. It is something which Faith immediately experiences. It does not trouble itself to know HOW this union is effected.

We see then that in this first period of his teaching, Zwingli attributes Objective Value to the Supper. The believer really receives something. What he receives, is a strengthening and increase of his faith; a sense and consciousness of a more intimate union and communion with God. All this leads us to realise that Faith for Zwingli, is a very rich conception. It is nothing less than the Indwelling of God in us. (1).

Faith is the Totality of the operation of the divine spirit in the heart of man. To Believe, is to give oneself to God. It is to sacrifice oneself, in order to let God have full play in the soul. It is not mere intellectual apprehension. It is UNION with God. (2). On the other hand, Luther defines faith as Fiducia. (3).

He analyses the idea of faith, and separates the different parts, while Zwingli reunites them in one indivisible synthesis. Zwingli does not separate Faith and Sanctification. For him, Faith is the whole of the new life in man.

The influence which their different views of Faith will have on their conception of the Supper will be at once evident. Luther rises gradually from the faith which grasps justification to works, to sanctification, and at last to the Mystical Union with Christ which the believer finds in the sacrament of the Supper. But for Zwingli, all that is already given with Faith. The Supper will then necessarily have a different meaning for him than for Luther, and if one reproaches him, from the point of view of the Lutheran doctrine, that his teaching is poor and insignificant, it is because one forgets that what one does not find in his Eucharistic teaching, is already present in the riches and depth of his notion of Faith.

To return to the Letter to Wyttenbach, it is here clearly asserted that the influence which the Supper exercises on Faith is real and living. It reanimates and strengthens it. The believer already possesses God by faith. It is not by means of the Supper that he

(I). Loofs. p. 798. Dieckhoff. p. 471.

(II). Opera. I. p. 556.

(III). Prof. Mackinnon. Luther and the Reformation. p. 197.

(IV). Opera VII p. 297.-300. Köhler. p. 23. Baur. II. p. 271.

attains to the possession, but that intimate union with God which is faith, is augmented in the Supper. The Lord's Supper is not an Officium but a Beneficium. There is a gift bestowed. If Luther had troubled himself to read Zwingli's writings, and had not been satisfied with the opinions of others regarding him, he would have formed a higher idea of the contents of his teaching. In this early stage, there were rich and positive elements in the testimony of Zwingli. Their different views of faith explain their different conceptions of the Supper. It is the profound and hidden cause. If the two Reformers did not arrive at an understanding on this doctrine, it was because they differed fundamentally in their views of faith.

We are now in a position to indicate in a few propositions the view of Zwingli, as expounded by him in the year 1523, and we do so to emphasise the positive contents of his teaching.

SUMMING UP OF ZWINGLI'S TEACHING - SO FAR. (1).

- (A). The Lord's Supper is not a repetition of the Sacrifice of Christ, but a commemoration of the same.
- (B). We obtain forgiveness of sins, not through the eating of Christ as sacrificed, but through Faith in the sacrifice once offered.
- (C). In the Lord's Supper, we do not give. We receive.
- (D). We receive the forgiveness of sins which Christ won for us through His death.
- (E). Bread and Wine are not a newly to be sacrificed body and blood of Christ. They are signs of the once broken body and blood of Christ.
- (F). The Atonement once and for all offered by Christ for our sins is appropriated in the Supper through Faith (i.e. the life of Christ in us, and of us in Christ). Thereby Christ actually becomes our food, and nourishes the new life in us.
- (G). This takes place not in a physical manner through an entering of Christ into our body, but through a dwelling of Christ in our souls.
- (H). In the Lord's Supper, Christ is really present for the believer, and is anew eaten by him as spiritual food.

(I). Ebrard, II. page 105.

We find here the outline of the teaching of Calvin, although it must be granted that Zwingli insists more on the first five points, then upon the last three. These last he merely hints at. Yet they are present in an embryonic state.

DE CANONE MISSAE. (1).

We find them more developed in the "De Canone Epicheresis" of August 29th, 1523. In this work, there are two clear and definite propositions.

(A). In the Lord's Supper, we do not sacrifice or give to God.

We receive from God.

(B). There are two soul foods which we receive from God.

(a). The Word of God which is the Content of the preaching of Salvation.

(b). Christ Who gives Himself for our living and life-giving food, in order to reproduce Himself in us. (2).

As examples of the Eucharistic prayers, we find, "Do Thou feed our hungering souls with Heavenly food. Our souls are spiritual, made in Thine image. Therefore they can only be refreshed with spiritual food. That food can be administered by Thy Word alone. In vain, would we eat the flesh of Thy Son, did we not firmly believe that Thy Son had atoned for our sins. Do Thou therefore, if our faith falters, increase our faith. Grant that, as Thy Son restored us to Thy grace through the shame and bitterness of the Cross, we also with Him as Guide, may conquer the hardships and afflictions of this world, while we eat and drink His body and blood. Grant that we may approach Thy Son's most Holy Feast, of which He is the Host and also the Food (Hospes & Epulum). Grant, O Most Merciful Father, through Thy Son Jesus Christ, that we may express Him in our deeds so that the image destroyed in Adam, may receive His likeness" (3). Here we have teaching which could hardly be designated by the popular epithet of "Zwinglian".

(A). The Unio Mystica is clearly and plainly affirmed.

(B). The Lord's Supper is described as an action of renewed communion with Christ, and the Bread and Wine are seals of this Communion.

(C). This strengthening and renewal of Communion with Christ should have its practical, ethical results. It should be expressed in our actions and our deeds.

(I).-----Opera III. p. 83 to 116: II. Baur II. p. 284. f. III. Opera III. p. 110 f.

SOURCES OF ZWINGLI'S EARLY TEACHING.

The Spiritual and Ethical Utterances of the De Canone Missae show the high water mark of Zwingli's earlier testimony, and when we examine into the Sources from which this teaching was derived, we are led back to the influence of Erasmus, the great Humanist. (1). Like Luther, Zwingli served himself heir to the writings of the earlier theologians, but he did not go to the Scholastics, Occam, Biel, or D'Ailly, as the German Reformer had done. There are some who assert that already at Glarus, (2) he became acquainted with the works of Wicklif and Ratramnus, but Ratramnus was rather the forerunner of Calvin, as later in this thesis, we shall try to prove. Köhler in his recent work (3), indicates many parallel utterances in the expressions of Zwingli and Erasmus, and finds in the latter's "Paraphrasen Zum N.T." some of Zwingli's best known thoughts. "In short", he concludes, "The ground elements of his Eucharistic teaching are to be found in the great Humanists, the arrangement of material; the emphasis on Faith; the Real Presence in its mystic form; the ethical element, and the commemorative aspect". All this is related to the period we have just been considering. But now an important, critical question arises, as to the exact time, when Zwingli began to be influenced by the writings of Hoen and Wessel Gansforth.

-
- (I). Lindsay. I. p. 355. Baur. II. p. 281.
 Usteri. Zwingli and Erasmus. p. 28. ff. Studien & Kritiken.
 p. 666. f.
- (II). Schaff. Swiss. Ref. II. p. 620.
- (III). Köhler. Zwingli und Luther. (1924). p. 51.

CHAPTER FIVE. - Pages 53 to 63.

B. ZWINGLI'S MIDDLE PERIOD. (1524 - 1529).

Sources of the Teaching of this period.....HOEN & WESSEL.

Zwingli's Letter to ALBER.....16 Nov. 1524.

De vera et falsa Religione.... March 1525.

Letter to Oekolampadius.

The Subsidium and Zwingli's Dream.....AM GRUT.....August 1525.

Summing up of Zwingli's Teaching.....so far.

HOEN & WESSEL GANSFORTH.

Most authorities, with the exception of Dorner (1), are agreed that in his later writings, the doctrine of Zwingli shows signs of the predominating influence of Hoen and Wessel.

Our contention is, that Zwingli first knew the work of Hoen much later than has been generally understood.

In this, we accept the recent critical results of Loofs, Clemen, Paul Wernle and Doumergue. If it can be clearly proved that Hoen's influence only pertained in Zwingli's Middle Period (1524 - 1529), we shall find support for our contention that there is a positive element in the earlier phase of his teaching. (1522 - 1524).

(1). Dorner. I. p. 311.

The important question to be decided is, (1). When did the Letter of Hoen come into Zwingli's hands? Baur, accepting the conclusions of Schulze and Dieckhoff would place it as early as 1521. (2).

This date is much too early, as Loofs, (3), Clemen (4), Staehelin (5), have recently shewn. Zwingli writes in the *Responsio ad Johannis Bugenhagii Pomeraniam Epistolam* (23rd Oct. 1525), "It happened through the goodness of God that two pious and learned men, whose names I shall not mention, came to our Leo and me for the purpose of a conference on the question of the Lord's Supper. When they heard our opinion on this matter, they thanked God and communicated to us the letter of a learned and pious Dutchman". (6).

These words assert, as Loofs first shewed, that Leo Juda was then secular priest in Zurich, but Leo did not enter upon this office till 2nd Feb. 1523. Before this date, Zwingli cannot have had the Letter of Hoen in hand. The name of the writer of the Letter, Zwingli first mentions in the *Responsio ad Theobaldi Billicani et Urbani Rhegii Epistolas* of 17th April 1526. (7). The names of the bringers of the Letter, he first mentions in the *Amica Exegesis* of 25th Feb. 1527. "From the Dutch Hoen, whose letter, Rhodius and Saganus brought to me, I first received the elucidation, that 'EST' means 'Significat'. (8).

The terminus a quo being thus fixed, what of the terminus ad quem?

Zwingli acknowledges his indebtedness to the letter of Hoen for the elucidation that 'EST' means 'Significat'. This definite declaration of Zwingli cannot be doubted, and he first comes forward with this interpretation in the Letter to Alber (16 Nov. 1524).

Between these limits then, (2nd Feb. 1523 and 16th Nov. 1524),

we place the reception of Hoen's letter.

-
- (I). Dieckhoff. p. 278.
 - (II). Baur. II. p. 279.
 - (III). Loofs. Leitfaden. p. 302. note,
 - (IV). Clemen. Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte. p. 346. ff.
 - (V). Staehelin. Zwingli. p. 372. Kohler. p. 62. ff.
 - (VI). Opera. III. p. 606.
 - (VII). do. p. 648.
 - (VIII). do. p. 553.

Ullmann (1) would trace the influence of Hoen's teaching even in the Letter to Wyttenbach (15 June 1523), and the earlier writings, but there is no mention of the Symbolical interpretation of EST, till the Letter to Alber in 16th Nov. 1524. Erasmus was the dominating influence until then.

Let us now examine more particularly the documents of WESSEL & HOEN, as sources of the teaching of Zwingli in his 2nd period. (2).

WESSEL GANSFORTH.

John Wessel (1420-1489) was the author of a long and elaborate treatise De Sacramento Eucharistiae in which he taught that the Lord's Supper is the rite in which the death of Christ is presented to, and appropriated by the believer. It is, above all things, a commemoration of the death, and a communion or participation in the benefits which followed; that communion with the spiritual presence of Jesus is of far more importance than any corporeal contact with the body of Christ, and that communion is shared in through faith. (3).

HOEN.

These thoughts were taken over by Christopher Hoen (4), a divine of the Netherlands, who, in the letter just discussed, founds his argument on the sayings of Christ in John Chap. 6.

Hoen's Letter may be summed up in the following propositions. (5).

I. Starting from John Chap. 6, the Lord's Supper is essentially a pledge that Jesus Christ has given Himself for our salvation.

II. This is only through faith and for faith, for by faith only, can we contemplate and feed upon Christ.

III. Christ gives Himself to us in the Holy Supper, not indeed in a sensible way, as if He were here or there, or as if the bread and wine were transmuted into His flesh and blood, but in such a way as that the bread remains bread, though at the same time, signifying the body of Christ.

(I). Ullmann. Reformers before the Reformation. II. p. 515.

(II). Loofs. p. 803. Dieckhoff. p. 292.

(III). Lindsay. Hist. of the Ref. II. p. 355.

Miller & Scodder. John Wessel of Gansforth.

(IV). Baur. II. p. 279. ff.

(V). Ullmann. ii. p. 536-537. Dieckhoff. p. 292. Köhler. p. 62 ff.

IV. Christ's oblation, vouchsafed afresh in the Supper to every individual by means of faith as his own, is the ground of salvation. From these statements, it is clear that there are many points of contact between Hoen and Zwingli. Zwingli acknowledges, as we have seen, his indebtedness to Hoen for the interpretation of the EST as Significat, but we find no trace of this interpretation in any work of his before 1524.

The theories of the Dutchmen did not appeal to Luther. He published the work of Wessel, but he omitted the treatise De Sacramento Eucharistiae. The Dutch writings no doubt incited Karlstadt to elaborate his peculiar theory which diverges from the views both of the Dutchmen, and Zwingli and Luther.

Zwingli it was, who received the most positive impression, and we shall see the results of this in that work of his, which it is now necessary to expound.

AD MATTHEUM ALBERUM DE COENA DOMINICA EPISTOLA. (16 November 1524)(1)

We have already noted how in the autumn of 1524, Karlstadt produced his revolutionary treatise, with a novel interpretation of the words of institution. This work created a great commotion in S. Germany and Switzerland. (2). Luther replied to it in WIDER DIE HIMMELISCHEN PROPHETEN.

Zwingli was also driven to make his comment on it through a controversy that arose in Reutlingen between the pastors, Hermann and Alber. In the dispute between Luther and Karlstadt, Alber had taken the side of Luther, while Hermann was a partisan of Karlstadt. Zwingli, having learned that they proposed to hold a public Disputation, wrote to Alber to dissuade him. He asserts in his letter that Hermann is wrong in embracing the view of Karlstadt, but he shews that Alber himself is in error in taking literally the words of institution.

This letter is very important, as it was the means of inflaming Luther against its author. (3).

(I). Opera. III. p. 589-603. Baur II. p. 294. ff. Dieckhoff. p.457
 (II). K.J. Jäger. And. Bodenstein von Karlstadt.
 (III). Miéville. p. 58. Köhler. p. 72.

THE LETTER contains TWO PARTS.

(a), A Negative part, which shews that Jesus Christ expressly rejects the Corporal Manducation.

(b), A Positive part, which explains the Words of Institution.

Zwingli, faithful to his hermeneutical principle, that Scripture is its own best interpreter, seeks for a passage which throws light on the obscure phrase, 'This is My Body'. He finds it in John, Chap. 6.

"It is true that John does not speak there of the Supper directly, but the discourse of Jesus there contained, is a refutation of the literal interpretation of the words of institution. If the 6th Chap. of John does not give an explanation of these words, at least, it indicates how not to understand them. It furnishes the correct point of view from which to examine them". (1).

Zwingli calls this chapter an Immoveable Battle Front.

The decisive passage in this Chapter is Verse 63. "It is the spirit that quickeneth the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life". (2).

"The error of those who maintain a transubstantiation, and of those who maintain a bodily eating, is rendered perfectly apparent by these words. This passage is the unsurmountable barrier. 'The flesh profiteth nothing'. Shall we say then, that Christ has given that which profiteth nothing? By no means. But Christ tells us that which profits when He says, 'The words which I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life'. What words? 'He who eats My flesh and drinks My blood, hath eternal life'. What flesh and what blood? Not the natural flesh or the natural blood, but the flesh and the blood, which we know, are the pledge of our salvation, because they died for us on the Cross. Faith alone justifies. It is then faith in Christ crucified, which Jesus understands by these 'words which are spirit and life'. In

speaking of the manducation, of His body, Christ understands faith in His expiatory death. There can be no question, then, of a corporal manducation. (3) That is the Positive Result which the exposition of John 6. has furnished to Zwingli.-----

(I). Baur. II. p. 297.

(II). Méville. p. 61. Köhler. p. 76. ff.

(III). Opera. III. p. 590. Köhler. p. 77. ff.

(b). But how are the words of the Institution of the Supper to be explained?

Zwingli begins by refuting the peculiar opinion of Karlstadt, whose faith however, he praises, because he has acknowledged that salvation comes through faith in Christ, not from the sacramental bread and wine. He praises him because for that reason, he has taken the words of the institution in a figurative way. "We", he says, "consider that the hinge of the matter is found in the little word EST. The word EST is often taken for SIGNIFICAT, as one sees in Genesis XLI. and 26.

If we replace EST by SIGNIFICAT, the words of Christ become quite clear, and give a sense like this. "This feast is a symbol by means of which, you will remember that My body, the body of the Son of God, has been given for you". (1).

Zwingli concludes his letter, summing up the points which appear to him important.

1st. The Supper is a Memorial in which we celebrate the death of Christ, and by which we make profession of our faith, and unite in one single body.

2nd. But we eat our own condemnation, if before eating, we are not already certain by faith, that Christ has saved us. (2).

This resume shows that at this moment, Zwingli emphasised the Subjective side of the Supper. He does not speak of it at all as a means of grace. He does not say a word of the union into which the believer enters with the living Christ. 'Faith in Christ is really the eating of His body. The body of Christ is eaten, when His death for us is believed'. (3). We do not say that by these words Zwingli denies the mystical union of the Believer with Christ. He does not deny this union, but he regards it rather as a consequence of Faith, than as a direct result of participating in the Supper. Another remark presents

-
- (I). Opera III. p. 591.
 Baur, II. p. 298.
 Miéville, p. 62.
 (II). Opera III. p. 602.
 (III). do. p. 595.
 Loofs. page 804.

itself with regard to the interpretation of the EST as SIGNIFICAT, and it is this. The interpretation of the EST as SIGNIFICAT is not the point of departure of the exegesis of Zwingli, as has been so often pretended. It is his "Point d'arrivée", as Miéville (1) asserts. It is not the basis of his exegesis. It is its "Last Word", its Crown". (2). This teaching on the Supper is similarly propounded in the "De vera *et* falsa religione Commentarius of March 1525.

DE VERA & FALSA RELIGIONE COMMENTARIUS (3).

It was towards the end of March 1525, that this work appeared. The chapter which deals with the Supper is only a new edition, considerably augmented, of the Letter to Alber. What led him to publish openly the ideas which he had regarded as confidential, was the writing of Luther, "Wider die himmelischen Propheten", in which he condemns the opinions of Zwingli, along with those of Karlstadt. It is interesting to see how Zwingli, in beginning the chapter entitled EUCHARISTIA, is careful to show how the ideas contained in the Commentarius are the same as in his earlier writings, especially in the Auslegung. He does not acknowledge that he has changed his view. If in his first works, he did not develop his doctrine clearly, it was because he did not wish to scandalise his readers in overturning their ideas on things which they regarded as sacred. He wished rather to lead them on gradually to abandon their erroneous notions (4). Zwingli begins by making a detailed exegesis of the 6th Chap. of John, in order to show that in this chapter, it is a question of Faith and not of the Supper. He then declares formally that he rejects all kind of material presence of the body of Christ. (5).

-
- (I). Miéville, page 67.
 (II). Ebrard, II. 145.
 (III). Opera III. 147-325.
 Loofs, page 803.
 Baur, II. page 308.
 (IV). Dieckhoff, page 431.
 (V). Baur, II. page 338.
 Opera, III. 241-247.

After having refuted the opinion of Karlstadt, (1). He undertakes the explanation of the phrase, "This is My body." What is the sense of the passage, if one explains the "Est" by "Significat?" he asks. He examines the account of the Supper, which Luke and Paul give us, and in this account, he concerns himself with the words which relate to the Cup. "This Cup is the New Testament in My blood". These words do not say, "This (this cup) is My blood". It is clear then, that they do not take the "Est" substantially, but they give an interpretation of the words of St. Matt. and St. Mark. The word then, relating to the Cup being taken symbolically, it is necessary that the parallel passage relating to the bread, be also taken symbolically. (2). He concludes the exegetical section by quotations from the Fathers, who reject the corporal presence of Christ in the Supper. These are Tertullian, Augustine, Origen, Hilary and Jerome, all of whom he claims for his own. (3).

LETTER TO OEKOLAMPADIUS. (4).

In a letter which Zwingli wrote to Oekolampadius, on 5th April, 1525, a little time after the publication of his Commentarius, he mentions two objections which one might make to his theory, and which later were effectively made on the part of the Lutherans. The first is, that in John 6th. the word 'Caro' means 'Intellectus carnalis' "But", replies Zwingli, "the context does not permit of this sense".

The Second is, that God, being all powerful, can effect that the bread be at the same time flesh. "But that is a sophism, and one might as well say that God can effect that a leper be at the same time leprous and pure".

THE SUBSIDIUM & AM GRUT. (5).

On April 11th, 1525, Zwingli, supported by Leo Juda, asked the Senate of Zurich to formally repeal the Mass. (6).

-
- (I). Opera. III. p. 253-255.
 (II). Baur. II. p. 347. III. Miéville. p. 74. Opera 264-268. III
 (IV). Opera. VII. p. 389-392. Köhler. p. 80 ff.
 (V). Opera. III. p. 326-356. (VI). Miéville. p. 76.

This proposal was discussed for two consecutive days in the Senate, and was finally adopted. The most formidable adversary in these debates was the Secretary AM GRUT, (1) a moderate man, and a friend of reform, but one who did not desire a complete rupture with the Roman Catholic Church. He made a strong attack on Zwingli's interpretation of the words, "This is My body". He pointed out that the examples quoted to support the figurative use of the word EST, were always taken from the Parables, while Jesus did not speak in parables, when He dispensed the Supper. (2). Zwingli felt that these remarks had some foundation, and to reply to them, and to fill up some gaps in the argument of the Commentarius, he wrote the SUBSIDIUM which appeared in August, 1525. (3). In the second part, he mentions Two new reflections which have occurred to him since the publication of the Commentarius.

"First, (4), we find in Scripture, that the words 'Body of Christ' are taken in Three different senses. They designate in one case, the Natural Body of Christ, that was born of the Virgin, and which died on the cross. Again, they designate Christ's Risen body, and again, Christ's Mystical Body which is the Church. Which of these bodies did Christ give to His disciples to eat, when He said, 'Take, eat, this is My body'? Plainly, it was not His Natural body. Jesus could not enjoin His disciples to eat it, and to bruise it with the teeth, since He had declared positively that 'the flesh profiteth nothing'.

There could on the other hand, be no question of eating Christ's Risen body, because, at the time of the institution of the Supper, Christ had not yet been raised. Finally, there was no question of eating the Mystical body of Christ, for it has not been delivered unto death for us. We must then understand the words, 'This is My body', figuratively".

- (I). Mievilleville. p. 77. Baur. II. p. 312.
 (II). Dieckhoff. p. 490.
 (III). Opera. III. p. 326-356. Baur. II. p. 338. Köhler. p. 105.
 (IV). Opera. III. p. 338. Mievilleville. p. 70. Baur. II. 340. ff.

The Second important discovery which Zwingli had made, since the publication of the COMMENTARIUS is that of an exact analogy between the institution of the Supper, and that of the Passover, such as it has been reported to us in EXODUS. Chap. XII.

ZWINGLI'S DREAM.

The manner in which Zwingli made this discovery is very curious, and is described by Ebrard. (1). We have seen how AM GRUT reproached Zwingli for quoting parables in support of the symbolical interpretation. This objection seemed to impress him, for, as soon as the discussion was ended, he began to search for a passage, which would provide an exact analogy with the words of the Supper, and which would have no connection with a parabolic saying. He reflected deeply and turned over his Bible page by page, but in vain. The night wore on, and he could not find a single instance. At last, he retired to rest, but his thoughts continued to occupy his mind, while he slept. He had a dream in which he saw some one approach him, and say to him, 'Why do you not quote Exodus XII. & 11'? "It is the Lord's Passover". (2). Immediately he leapt from bed, opened his Bible, read the passage, and preached next day with such impressiveness, that the most conscientious spirits were won for the Reformation, and Catholicism ceased to rule in Zurich. (3).

In the Subsidium, Zwingli brings forward this new example, and considers it to be the most decisive proof of the Symbolical interpretation. Scripture itself admits it, for St. Paul regards the Passover as a symbol of the death of Christ, "Christ our passover has been sacrificed for us. (1 Cors. V. & 7)". and Jesus Himself makes allusion to the passover immediately before instituting the Supper. Zwingli concludes this Second section of his work, drawing a parallel between the two institutions down to the smallest detail. (4).

(I). Ebrard. II. p. 146.

(II). Opera. III. p. 341.

(III). Miéville. p. 80.

(IV). Opera. III. p. 343. Miéville. p. 81.

He sums up the argument of the SUBSIDIUM, with the following reflection. "If a thing as gross as the Corporal Eating has not been imposed on a people as gross as the Jews of the Old Covenant, how would it be imposed on us, who possess the Spirit, and who have passed from darkness into light?". (1).

SUMMING UP OF ZWINGLI'S TEACHING. - so far.

If we now sum up his general position in a few sentences, we find that of Faith in general, he says that it involves a living of Christ in us. Of the Supper in particular, he says, that it is related to the one sacrifice of Christ, as a Commemoration, while bread and wine are symbols of the broken body and shed blood of Christ. He had earlier said in the De Canone Missae that the eating of the bread and the drinking of the wine are at the same time a symbol and pledge of a contemporaneous renewed fellowship with Christ, but he now lets this side of his teaching sink into the background, even before his controversy with Luther. The question, What the Supper means for the Subjective life of faith of the individual, is not now raised by him. He dwells only on the relation of the Sacrament to the death of Christ, as a collective action on the part of the church. (2).

It was thus only a partial solution, but the same one-sidedness is also to be seen in Luther's testimony.

So far had Zwingli's teaching been developed, before it came into contact with Luther's. He had only been attacking Papists up till now, for even the Letter to ALBER, although written in relation to Luther and Karlstadt, was only a development of his own thesis, and not an attack on another. He says nothing about Luther's teaching. He only refers to ^{it} negatively and indirectly.

Not by the Swiss, but by the Germans, was the glove thrown.

(I). Opera. III. p. 356. Miéville. p. 83. Baur. II. p. 350.
Köhler. p. 105.

(II). Ebrard. II. p. 155.

CHAPTER SIX. - Pages 64 to 88.

ZWINGLI'S MIDDLE PERIOD.....continued.

ZWINGLI & OEKOLAMPADIUS in direct Conflict with LUTHER.

Controversy begun by the Epistle of Bugenhagen...1525.

Zwingli's Response to Bugenhagen.

Oekolampadius' Work.. De genuina verborum...expositione.

The SWABIAN SYNGRAMMA by Brenz.....PRECURSOR of CALVIN.

Oekolampadius' Antisyngramma.

Strasbourgers' Attempt to Mediate.

Pirkheimer poisons the mind of Luther.

Luther's VORREDE zum SYNGRAMMA.

Oekolampadius' Reply to Bugenhagen.

Zwingli's Klare Unterrichtung vom Nachtmahl Christi...Nestorianism.

(This was Zwingli's First work in German, ... written in answer
to Luther's VORREDE).

Luther's Sermon vom Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christi wider
die Schwarmgeister.....29th March, 1526.

Zwingli's Correspondence with Haner....ALLOEOSIS.

Zwingli's Amica Exegesis.

Zwingli's Freundlich Verglimpfung.

Zwingli's Letter to Luther.

Luther's Dass diese Worte....noch feststehen.. May 1527.

Zwingli's Dass diese Worte ewig den alten Sinn haben werden. June,
1527.

Discussion of these Writings, involving the questions of Ubiquity,
Christology, Communicatio Idiomatum, and the Alloeosis.

The Position before Marburg.

Summing up of the Teaching of Luther and Zwingli at this period.

DISPUTATION at Bern.....Zwingli's View, upheld.

CHAPTER SIX.

ZWINGLI & OEKOLAMPADIUS in direct Conflict with LUTHER.

THE CHALLENGE OF BUGENHAGEN.

BUGENHAGEN who was of one mind with Luther had heard that Zwingli explained the EST as SIGNIFICAT. He now wrote a letter to Dr. Hess and had it printed under the title, CONTRA NOVUM ERROREM DE SACRAMENTO CORPORIS ET SANGUINIS CHRISTI. (1). In this letter, the writer shews a complete ignorance of Zwingli's services to the Reformation, and of the clarity and purity of his teaching. He portrays him as an unlettered fellow who was anxious to pose as a theologian. Bugenhagen's writing is an echo of Luther's against Karlstadt. He can only have read Zwingli's works very superficially, if he ever read them at all. He always blames him for building his teaching on the fact that EST means SIGNIFICAT. What, as we have seen, was the last stone on Zwingli's edifice, Bugenhagen regards as the foundation stone.

Zwingli now wrote a RESPONSIO AD BUGENHAGII EPISTOLAM (1525). (2).

It was composed in a different style and spirit, and is an illustration of the Humanist form of argument, in contrast to the Scholastic method of polemic. He limits himself to a quiet refutation of the objections, Bugenhagen brings against him. He exhorts Bugenhagen not to disturb the peace of the Church, but to consider how Rome will gloat over any disunion in the young church of the Reformation.

Almost simultaneously with the Responsio, appeared a contribution from Oekolampadius of Basel.

OEKOLAMPADIUS DE GENUINA VERBORUM DOMINI EXPOSITIONE. (3).

In the very beginning of his treatise, Oekolampadius takes occasion to vindicate himself against the charge which Luther was always ready to make against the opponents of the bodily presence of Christ in the Supper. He declares that it is not the intention of persons who oppose this doctrine to rid Christianity of all that is wonderful and mysterious, i.e. to Rationalise it. There are certainly mysteries, he affirms, which surpass our reason. But it is one thing to recognise these mysteries, and another, to put in mysteries which were not originally there. The Lord's Supper, it is true, may in a certain sense, be called a mystery. It is

(I). Baur. II. p. 313. Dieckhoff. p. 507.
 (II). Opera. III. p. 604. ff. Köhler. p. 283.
 (III). Dieckhoff. p. 305. Ebrard. II. p. 162.

a mystery, because it conserves a religious idea under a sensuous covering (Symbol and Mystery are cognate terms). The Lord's Supper is designed to lead us from the visible to the invisible. But from this very fact, it cannot itself be something secret and mysterious. That which is intended for our edification must not be an unknown thing. The Apostles do not speak of the first celebration of the Supper in such wise as to convey to us the impression that it was something hidden and secret. The disciples do not manifest the slightest astonishment, when the Lord offers them the bread and the wine. They partake of the repast simply as a Passover. If Peter objected to the Master's washing of his feet, how much more strongly would he have objected if the Lord had really proposed to him to eat His Flesh? The most valuable part of Oekolampadius' work is that which deals with the Patristic testimony. He finds that his views are held by the Fathers of the Church, especially Tertullian, Chrysostom and Augustine. It was reserved for the Middle Ages, as he demonstrates, to make this simple transaction a subject of superstitious veneration. The FINAL section is devoted to an explanation of the sacramental words. (1).

Of the fact that they contain a trope, every unprejudiced person must be convinced. It is not difficult to cite instances in point from the Scripture, as for example, where John is called Elias in the sense of representing Elias. Thus the bread is called the body in the sense of the Figure of the body. And as the bread that serves to nourish man's body is broken, so Christ's body is broken, in order to the feeding of the soul with Heavenly food. Had Christ meant that we should eat His body IN the bread, He would have expressed Himself more clearly to the effect, saying, "IN this bread is MY body", whilst as it is, He really says, "THIS is My body". Thus Oekolampadius saw in Luther's apprehension of this passage a departure from the simple meaning of the sacramental words.

(1). Ebrard, II. page 166.
 Dieckhoff, page 523.
 Köhler, page 117. ff.

The passage in which Jesus speaks of eating His body and drinking His blood (John VI) bars the way to every material conception of the words of Institution. Of a bodily presence of Christ, since His Exaltation into Heaven, the Scriptures say nothing.

In fact, the contrary is affirmed. Not until the last day will the Lord appear again in the Body. Till then, we must think of Him as in Heaven.

Our faith is thus directed to Christ and His reconciling Passion, and not to a participation in His body in the Lord's Supper. In the Mass Canon itself, the eyes of Christians are directed to Heaven by the SURSUM CORDA.

Oekolampadius sent his writing to the Swabian preachers with a letter in which he warned them against dissensions in the ranks of the Reformers. (1).

SWABIAN SYNGRAMMA. (2). PRECURSOR OF CALVIN.

These Swabian preachers, the most of whom regarded Oekolampadius as their spiritual father, now published an answer written by Brenz, and signed by his colleagues and by himself. This was issued in 1525, under the title of the Syngramma Suevicum. This is an important production for this thesis, as both Koestlin and Dorner say (3) that the Syngramma is more Calvinistic than Lutheran. The aim of the Syngramma is, of course, directed against Oekolampadius, and his view of the bread as a mere figure of the body of Christ. The Swabian ministers see in the rise of this symbolical theory, a scheme of the devil, who seeks by this means to snatch away from the believer the true body of Christ. The leading thought of the Syngramma is a following up of Luther's doctrine of the Word. God is the Word, and therein, makes Himself comprehensible to the spirit, so that grace which is eternal, and irrespective of space, does therein approach us, in order to communicate itself to us. The Syngramma, like Luther, approves the Augustinian maxim, 'accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum'. Words are in general, not merely signs of absent things, but, according to Aristotle, they bring the matter itself

(I). Baur. II. p. 328.

(II). Dieckhoff. p. 566. - Ritsehl (0). Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus. (1908).

(III). Koestlin. IIp. 108. Dorner I.p. 317.

~~Aristotle, they bring the matter itself.~~ Thus the words of Christ bring Christ along with them. The words of Christ, in the words of institution put into bread and wine the very body and blood of Christ, just as the word of Moses imparted a healing power to the brazen serpent. The serpent remains a serpent, but has healing power, by virtue of the word which is connected with it., and just as in this case, the Word has brought with it to the serpent, the healing power, so the body itself is brought into the bread through the word, 'This Is My Body'. But now, the difference between Luther and the Syngramma becomes apparent, when the question is raised, 'Do the words of the sacrament bring with them the body and blood of Christ for every recipient of the sacrament?'. The answer of the Syngrammists is a complete denial. (1). The spiritual benefits which the words of Institution bring, are only for Faith. The body and blood of Christ are food for the soul. The connection between the body and the elements does not benefit the unbelieving. The body and blood of Christ are indeed offered to them, but the offering is one thing, and the receiving another. To the proposition that the Word makes God present is appended the second thesis - that faith in believing makes God present, but Faith without the Word, is not Faith. The Syngramma also knows no other kind of participation than that which is realised, wherever in other ways, the body and blood of Christ, or, in general, His Person, or God Himself, are brought near to us. It knows nothing of a participation merely with the mouth. It knows nothing of that which Luther calls "bodily participation", but only that which he designates a spiritual eating of the body. On the other hand, the Syngramma agrees with Luther in its reply to the question, whether Christ does not then remain in Heaven. He remains, it declares, in Heaven, although He is at the same time, by virtue of His Command and Word, distributed among His followers on earth. He is ascended into Heaven, and is everywhere in such a sense that He is also, as He Himself says, with us until the end of the world.

(1). Dieckhoff. p. 607.
Köhler. p. 117. f.

Aristotle, ~~they bring the matter itself~~. Thus the words of Christ bring Christ along with them. The words of Christ, in the words of institution put into bread and wine the very body and blood of Christ, just as the word of Moses imparted a healing power to the brazen serpent. The serpent remains a serpent, but has healing power, by virtue of the word which is connected with it., and just as in this case, the Word has brought with it to the serpent, the healing power, so the body itself is brought into the bread through the word, 'This Is My Body'. But now, the difference between Luther and the Syngramma becomes apparent, when the question is raised, 'Do the words of the sacrament bring with them the body and blood of Christ for every recipient of the sacrament?'. The answer of the Syngrammists is a complete denial. (1). The spiritual benefits which the words of Institution bring, are only for Faith. The body and blood of Christ are food for the soul. The connection between the body and the elements does not benefit the unbelieving. The body and blood of Christ are indeed offered to them, but the offering is one thing, and the receiving another. To the proposition that the Word makes God present is appended the second thesis - that faith in believing makes God present, but Faith without the Word, is not Faith. The Syngramma also knows no other kind of participation than that which is realised, wherever in other ways, the body and blood of Christ, or, in general, His Person, or God Himself, are brought near to us. It knows nothing of a participation merely with the mouth. It knows nothing of that which Luther calls "bodily participation", but only that which he designates a spiritual eating of the body. On the other hand, the Syngramma agrees with Luther in its reply to the question, whether Christ does not then remain in Heaven. He remains, it declares, in Heaven, although He is at the same time, by virtue of His Command and Word, distributed among His followers on earth. He is ascended into Heaven, and is everywhere in such a sense that He is also, as He Himself says, with us until the end of the world.

(1). Dieckhoff. p. 607.
Köhler. p. 117. f.

He comes to us, and yet remains at the right hand of God, i.e. "In all places in heaven and on earth". The Holy Spirit also is in the saints below, and united with Christ, at the right hand of the Father. Why then should it be thought a strange assertion that the deified body of Christ, likewise comes through the Word into the bread, and yet at the same time remains at the right hand of God? In the very beginning of the Work, the writers refute the interpretations of Zwingli and Oekolampadius, and yet when we compare their teaching with that of the De Canone Missae, we see many points of contact. Perhaps Ebrard (1) is right when he says, "the Syngramma is a development of Zwingli at His best. What is embryonic in Zwingli came to its fruition in Brenz."

There was the same emphasis on a living union with Christ, and on the appropriation of His merits. While, however, Zwingli dwelt on the significance of the sacrament for the Christian Community, Brenz dwelt on its meaning for the subjective life of faith of the individual man. By this means, the Syngramma unites the view of Zwingli, with the view of Luther. In Brenz we find first, that teaching, which Bucer shared, and which later, reached its full development in Calvin and Melanchthon". (1).

This is a very interesting estimate and criticism, and it is supported by Professor Watt (2) who describes the Syngramma as Lutheran in terminology, but Calvinistic in thought, in as far as it taught a "Dynamical" presence of the body in the bread.

ANTISYNGRAMMA. (3).

Oekolampadius, against whom the writing had been directed, took up the challenge, and in his Antisyngamma, gave a detailed answer to the arguments of the Swabians. He replied at length to the criticism of his Exegesis, and asserted that the analogy of the Brazen Serpent proved no more than a presence in the Sacrament similar to that in the Word. In one respect, the Syngramma controversy is important, as we have here raised for the first time, the question of the Ubiquity of Christ's body - a question which was to loom largely in the succeeding period.

(I). Ebrard, II. p. 175.

(II). Dict. of Rel. & Ethics. Hastings.

(III). Dieckhoff, p. 637. Ebrard, II. p. 185. Köhler. p. 135.

Oekolampadius had appealed to the Ascension as an argument against the Local Presence. The Syngramma tried to show that in spite of the Ascension, Christ's Body can be present in the bread. The question was, of course, not gone into fully, as in later arguments, but here we have the germ of much subsequent controversy.

STRASBOURGERS'S ATTEMPT TO MEDIATE BETWEEN LUTHER AND ZWINGLI.

INFLUENCE OF PIRKHEIMER.

We have now come to the point when the two great antagonists, Luther and Zwingli, came into direct conflict with each other. It was the Strasbourgers who, attempting to act as mediators, fanned the flame they wished to quench. (1). They wrote soothing letters to Zwingli and Oekolampadius. To Luther, they sent an envoy, Chaselius, who begged that the tie which bound the Reformers, might not be severed on account of one difference in doctrine. They had a right to mediate, as their own teaching contained the elements of a higher unity between the Swiss and the Lutherans. They had emphasised the thought of a real, living union with Christ, and had not subordinated this to a mere relation of the sacrament to the death of Christ. They ascribed to these two elements equal rights. Luther sent Chaselius back with a letter of 31st. Oct. 1525, which contained hard words. (2). "No understanding is possible" he said, "for either we or they must be wrong. One or the other must be the servant of the devil." This hardness on the part of Luther has been explained by Ebrard, as arising largely from the mistaken views he held of the Swiss. These views had been coloured by the influence of Pirkheimer. He had been a friend of Oekolampadius, but a violent controversy arose between them on the subject of the Supper. (2). Pirkheimer poisoned the mind of Luther against the Swiss, and he misled him as to the exact nature of the views of Zwingli and Oekolampadius.

(1). Baur. II. p. 330.
 (2). Ebrard. II. p. 193.

. VORREDE zum SYNGRAMMA.(I).

In the VORREDE of autumn 1526, Luther now openly joined in the conflict. Karlstadt, Zwingli, and Oekolampadius are all classed as Fanatics, and the Fanatics must be wrong, he thinks, because they are so much divided among themselves. He attempts no refutation of their interpretations, and this is explained by the fact that he had never actually read their writings, but had merely accepted the verdict of Pirkheimer concerning them. It is notable however, that the Syngamma was warmly welcomed by him. In the preface to the second edition, he writes, "This excellent little book I like better, the longer I read it, because I know how they are assailing it, and yet accomplishing nothing by their assaults, for it is truth, and puts the lies to shame." And yet, we have seen how far the contents varied from his own theory. It is inconceivable also, that he, while bestowing so much attention upon it, should not himself have become aware of the variations referred to. We cannot therefore but regard it as significant that he should, in all his references to it, have ignored these differences, rejoicing in the valuable aid of men likeminded in the struggle against the common foes. The decisive consideration, however, in awakening this sense of fellowship with them was beyond doubt, the zeal with which they maintained the character of the sacrament as a divine Objective Real GIFT of GRACE, as over against the view that the part of the individual participating, is but a Subjective faith. We have already seen in the case of the Bohemian Brethren, how mild is Luther's judgment, and how tolerant he is of any theory of the Supper which describes it as a GIFT. We shall see later how this explains his attitude to Calvin, who differed from him in much, but against whom, he never spoke a condemnatory word. Calvin also laid stress on the sacrament, as a GIFT to the believing soul. The VORREDE, as we have seen, was more polemical than Didactic. Karlstadt, Oekolampadius, Zwingli were attacked. Karlstadt retracted his opinion, but Oekolampadius and Zwingli retaliated in Defensive writings.

Oekolampadius wrote mildly in the JUSTUM RESPONSUM (I), while Zwingli issued the

KLARE UNTERRICHTUNG VOM NACHTMAHL CHRISTI (2).

This work appeared on 2nd. Feb. 1526, and was written in German. Hitherto he had written in Latin, but now that his writings had been banned by Luther, and that he himself, had been named a heretic, he wished to justify his position in the eyes of common men.(3).

He arranges his matter under four articles.

In the First Article, he describes the 3 different false views of the Supper, the Romish, the LUTHERAN-SYNGRAMMIST, and the ERASMIC.(4). The Roman Catholic view is countered with familiar arguments, while the Lutheran CONSUBSTANTIATION, in that the EST means CONTINET, is shewn to be as Figurative as the interpretation of the so-called Fanatics. (5).

In the SECOND ARTICLE, 5 reasons are adduced why the EST should not be understood substantially. The first 2 add nothing to the COMMENTARIUS, and the SUBSIDIUM. (6).

The 3rd. Proof, however,(7). of the Second Article is most important, as we meet here for the first time with these passages in Zwingli's teaching which have been used in charging him with Nestorianism. He adduces as his third proof, the three sentences in the Apostles' Creed-"Ascended into Heaven, Sitting at the right hand of God, From whence He will come to judge the quick and the dead." To these sentences which support his thesis, he knows that there is opposed the doctrine of Ubiquity, which is supported by Matt.XXVIII. 20. "Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." And what of the charge of Nestorianism? Zwingli, while maintaining strongly the unity of the person of Christ, certainly separates the functioning of the two natures, "According to His divine nature, Christ has never left the right hand of the Father. According to this nature, He is everywhere, and has no need to ascend into Heaven. He has assumed

I. Ebrard. II. p. 218. II. Opera. II. p. 426.ff.
 III. Baur. II.p. 298. IV.Köhler.p.304. V.Köhler.p. 305.
 VI. Opera. II. p. 438.ff. and Baur. II. p. 338.
 VII. Baur. II. p. 341.ff. Opera. II.p. 448.

the human nature, being conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, and according to this nature, He has grown in wisdom and stature, He has suffered hunger and thirst, been nailed to the Cross, and with it, has gone to Heaven"(I). This is the Locus Classicus for the so-called Zwinglian Nestorianism.

Ebrard (2) is at much pains to refute this charge, and strives to show the harmony of Zwingli's teaching with that of the Chalcedon Council.

(A). Zwingli teaches that Christ is one person. "He who died was God.

(B). He ascribes to the divine nature, eternal actions (ewige Akte), and to the human nature, historical transactions (historische Handlungen).

(C). The acting subject (handelnde Subject) in both cases, is one and the same Christ, but

(D). The actions (Akte) belong to his divine nature, while the transactions (Handlungen) belong to the human nature.

When Zwingli speaks of two natures, Lutheran opponents have alleged that he understands two substances. (3). When he says, "Christ has suffered according to his human nature", they explain this, as if he maintained that the human nature was the one thing, or portion that suffered, while the other thing or portion followed another pursuit. (einer anderen Beschäftigung nachzug). When he says, "Jesus has, according to his divine nature, never left the bosom of the Father, but He has ascended to Heaven according to His human nature," they give to these words the meaning that the one part of Christ remained in Heaven, while the other part, separated from it, was on earth for a time, and then returned to the other. But to Zwingli, the two natures were not two substances. The divine nature was the Gottliche Wesen (divine essence), which is eternal, and the human nature was the Seynsform (Form of Being), into which the eternal, divine being was incarnated. Christ stands in an eternal relationship with the Father, and this bond was not broken by the

(1). Opera, II.p.448.

(2). Ebrard, II.p. 226.

(3). Köhler, p. 304.f.

Baur, II. p. 338.

Baur, II. 341.f.

Incarnation. This is His divine nature. Christ stands in a historical relation to the Creation, but this does not disturb His relations to God the Father. This is His human nature. Every action of Christ, according to Zwingli, relates to His whole Person. He is the Subiectum Agens. Zwingli does not say, "The divine nature remained in Heaven; the human nature journeyed to earth," as if they were two separately subsisting things. He DOES say, "The two natures are the two sides of the relationship in which Christ stood to the Creation, and to the Father, God." He did not think of the human nature as being on earth, and the divine nature separated from it, and existing in Heaven. He did not separate the "Theophoros Jesus", and the "Weltregierender Logos." He shows this clearly when he teaches that Christ has ever been with the Father, and proves it from Holy Scripture. (I).

In the 4th. Proof of Article II, he replies to another objection to his theory, that it does detriment to the Almighty Power of God, & In the 5th. Proof of the same Article, he answers the further argument that "Christ can be where He will."

In Article III, Zwingli repeats the exegetical argument of his thesis basing again his interpretation on Exodus XII. 11.

In Article IV., he deals with the question already raised whether "Eulogein" can have the sense of "Consecriren."

As regards the general teaching of the Klare Unterrichtung, we can say,

(A). It again substitutes the Commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ for the repetition of the sacrifice.

(B). It rejects Consubstantiation and Transubstantiation.

(C). It sees in the Supper a pledge that Christ has died for us.

(I). Baur, II 340. ff.

Köhler, 305.f

Ebrard, II.p.226.f.

(D). How far the faith of the individual partaker is strengthened by the Supper,- this question is not raised.

This document is principally interesting for its bearing on the charge of Nestorianism, and as an answer to the Vorrede of Luther, where he included Zwingli among the Fanatics.

In this Vorrede, Luther had indicated two arguments advanced by the Sacramentarians against the presence of the body and blood in the Supper, as an object of faith. He now issued a new writing where he deals particularly with these objections.

SERMON VOM SAKRAMENT DES BLUTES CHRISTI WIDER DIE SCHWARMGEISTER,

(MARCH, 1526.) (I).

This was the first independant publication of Luther against the Swiss Doctrine, as it had been refuted by the Syngramma, and it is clearly based, not on a reading of the works of his adversaries, but on opinions of them which he had heard expressed by Pirkheimer, Brenz and Bugenhagen. He divides the discussion of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper into two sections.

Section I deals with the Object (Objectum) of Faith- the presence of the body and blood of Christ.

Section II deals with faith itself, or in general, the proper use of the Sacrament.

In Section I, he alleges that the opponents of the bodily presence have only two arguments.

(A). It seems to reason an Unbecoming thing, that Christ's body should be in the bread.

(B). It is unnecessary that Christ's body and blood should be in the Bread and Wine.

As regards the first objection, it is claimed by the opponents that the presence of the body of Christ in the bread is a miracle, contradicting the senses. It is a miracle that the body of Christ should be present at a hundred thousand places. But Luther finds equally great miracles, not only in the Incarnation, but even in ordinary creature life.

There is for instance, the one weak human voice, which is caught, whole and undivided upon each one of a thousand ears upon which it falls. If one spoken word can thus distribute itself, how much more can Christ do the same with His glorified body? This is a close approximation to the Dynamic theory of Calvin. From this comparison, Luther proceeds to observe further, that the one Christ Himself, with His bodily voice, i.e., the Preaching of the Gospel, is brought into many hearts (Cpf. the Syngamma). Here, we must say we have the true Christ. The heart feels His presence through the experience of faith, without our knowing how it is effected. He sits at once at the right hand of the father, and also in the believing heart. "Should it then be astonishing," he asks, "that Christ should bring Himself into the bread and into the wine?" Here we have a defence of the sacramental presence of the glorified body which was developed more fully in later writings. We might say that the presence is an immediate inference from the Ubiquity of Christ, and yet the presence is still made to be dependant upon His Word. It is the Word that binds the body and blood with the bread and wine. The "TOUTO" includes both bread and body. This means further that the body and blood enter with bread and wine into the bodies of all, even the unworthy communicants.

Luther makes short work of the second argument of his opponents (I). i.e. that the "presence in the Supper is not necessary," declaring bluntly, that they therein attempt to vanquish God and Christ. If God says it is necessary, all creatures must keep silent. He challenges them to explain why it is necessary for God who has sin, death and the devil in His Power to send His Son to die for our deliverance, or why God feeds us with bread, when He could do so with His bare Word. The 2nd. Section of the work is concerned with the use and reception of the sacrament. He here opposes, as before, the old error which makes a meritorious work out of the Sacrament, as also the new error according to which it is a bare badge by which Christians may be recognised,

(I). Erl. ED. 29, p. 293. ff.
Köhler. p. 363.

and he insists upon the words, "My body, which is given for you." He locates the right use of the Sacrament in the faith - not only that Christ is present with body and blood, but that He is here bestowed upon us, and bestowed moreover for the forgiveness of sins. Thus, the Sacrament for Luther, takes its place by the side of the general preaching of forgiveness secured by the death of Christ. "Christ has accomplished it once upon the Cross, and He allows it to be distributed daily to us, anew through preaching." But it is the peculiarity of the Sacramental distribution, that although the same thing is found in preaching as in the Sacrament, yet there is in the latter case this advantage, that it is there directed to individual souls. In public preaching, it is given to no one in particular. Whosoever will, may take it, but in the Sacrament it is offered to each individual person. The peculiarity of the Sacrament is the definite, individual application of the forgiveness distributed through the word. In Luther's own expressive language, "The Sacrament is the putting in action of the promise of the Saviour, 'Thy sins are pardoned.'"The Sacrament individualises. It is FOR ME, FOR ME, FOR ME. (1).

ZWINGLI'S LETTER TO HANER. - ALLOEOSIS.

Zwingli did not hurry to reply to Luther. He allowed three months to pass, and in that time, he engaged in correspondence with Johannis Haner. ~~This correspondence with Johannis Haner.~~ This correspondence is very interesting for the purpose of this thesis, for two reasons.

- (a). Haner seems to have held opinions similar to Calvin.
- (b). In a letter of 3rd. Dec., 1526,(2). Zwingli first brings forth a point of doctrine (Lehrpunkt), which afterwards assumed great importance in his teaching. We refer to the ALLOEOSIS or Gegenwechsel, i.e. "the Rhetorical Exchange by which, when speaking of the one nature of Christ, we use the terms belonging to the other.
- (3).

(1). Erlang. Ed. 29,p.305. Köhler,p.455. Lobstein p. 189.
 (2). Baur, II. 421. Köhler, p. 383. Ebrard II. p. 247.
 (3). Seeberg, Baur, II.p.421. Köhler, p. 460.
 Ebrard II. p. 247.

Haner appears to have been chiefly exercised with the question of the Bodily and Spiritual Eating. He inquires what exactly is the relation of Faith to the flesh of Christ. Zwingli replies that "what is said about Faith in Christ and His death relates not to the Human nature of Christ. Yea, the death itself which is the sacrifice for our sins, would not be so precious, if He, Who, according to the one nature was mortal, were not according to the other, LIFE. When we say then, that we trust in the Flesh of Christ, we mean by His Flesh, His death, and on the other hand, to say that we trust in His death, is by ALLOEOSIS, nothing else than to say, that we trust in God, Who died according to His other nature. Whatever may be our way of expressing it, the subject of our faith is always and only God. But because He, Who is the Son of God, is also the Son of man, one HYPOSTASIS, but two natures, it follows that there is ascribed to the Humanity or to the flesh, what belongs to the Divine nature alone."

That is the ALLOEOSIS or COMMUTATIO IDIOMATUM. (1).

It is to be carefully distinguished from Luther's Communicatio Idiomatum, of which we shall hear later.

Zwingli will have nothing to do with a mixing of the natures, where one nature Assumes the attributes of the other. His ALLOEOSIS is a Commutatio of Terms, and professes to be founded on a real unity of the Person of Christ, Whose Humanity is the direct, complete revelation of His Divinity.

The ALLOEOSIS appears in most of his later works.

Seeberg admits that Zwingli's ideas are Orthodox. He however finds lacking in his theology, the great Lutheran thought, that even the words and works of Christ are a revelation of God. (2).

We shall find that Luther objected to the ALLOEOSIS, in that "this separation of the works of the two natures, no longer permits us to see in the human nature, the full revelation of God". To Luther, the Alloeosis was the devil's Mask. (3).

I. Seeberg. p. . Baur. II. p. 421. Köhler. p. 460. Ebrard
p.II. p. 24u.

II. Seeberg. IV. p. 379.

III. Erl. Ed. XXX. p. 203.

In the early part of 1527, Zwingli forwarded 2 new writings to Luther. These were the AMICA EXEGESIS, and the FREUNDLICH VERGLIMPFUNG. As their titles denote, they were couched in moderate terms, and ought to have made a favourable impression on him. That they did not have this effect, is explained by the fact that when they were handed to Luther, they were accompanied by a letter which was couched in quite another tone. (1).

Zwingli had been falsely informed in a communication from Haner (28th Feb. 1527), that Luther was preparing a great work against him and Oekolampadius, in which he would announce a complete change of standpoint; that he would surrender the absurdity of the presence of the flesh in the Supper, and would now substitute for it, a "Mystery of the divine operation in us." In the letter which Zwingli now wrote, he assumed that this rumour was true, and in unmeasured language, he condemned the amended teaching. "With the new teaching that in the Supper, there is no fleshly eating, but that the flesh, in a secret way, (in mysterio), enlivens and strengthens, through the power of the Holy Spirit, you will not compose our differences."

(2). This view which Haner attributed to Luther, is a partial anticipation of the later theory of Calvin. But as we have already remarked, there were no grounds for the assertion that Luther had assumed this view, and when he received the letter of Zwingli which contained this accusation, the favourable impression which the Amica Exegesis and the Freundlich Verg. might have created, was annulled. Luther wrote to Spalatin, (May 4th., 1527), "Zwingli has sent to me a letter full of pride, calumny, obstinacy and hate, yet couched in outwardly pleasant words." (3). Already however, he had prepared a work against the "Schwarmgeister," which was written, before he had time to examine Zwingli's packet.

-
- (1). Ebrard, II. p. 257.
 Köhler, p. 462. f.
 (2). Baur, II. p. 508.
 (3). Köhler, p. 494.

This work, DASS DIESE WORTE.....WIDER DIE SCHWARMGIESTER (1st May 1527) increased the bitterness of the controversy, for Zwingli replied on 20th June 1527, in his DASS DIESE WORTE --DAS IST MEIN LEICHNAM.....EWIG DEN ALTEN SINN HABEN WERDEN (I).

Luther retaliated in his GROSSES BEKENNTNIS, which was answered both by Zwingli, and Oekolampadius.

In this group of Controversial works, the main question was that of the Bodily presence in the Supper, and the possibility of the presence of the Body in many places. This problem of UBIQUITY involved a consideration of Christological theories. In the course of the controversy, the same arguments occur- REPLIK UND DUPLIK(2), and we now propose to treat these writings as a whole, in their bearing on the subject of this thesis.

General Discussion of the Luther--Zwingli Controversy.

From the beginning, as we have seen, Luther taught the presence of the body of Christ in the Supper in such a way that the Body, as a seal of forgiveness, strengthens the communicant in his faith.

The theories of Karlstadt, Zwingli, and Oekolampadius were all anathema to him, because they seemed to occupy their energies in denying this bodily presence (3) The words of institution appeared to him simple and plain. What need for interpretation of such plain terms as Bread, Wine, Body, Blood, Eat, Drink? The words themselves point to reality. This is confirmed by the circumstance that the traditional preservation of them is in all the sources in the same simple form, and by the consideration that symbols are characteristic of the Old Testament, not of the New. Accordingly, he inferred that we truly eat the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper.(4) "But how this occurs or how He is in the bread, we do not know. We should believe the word of God,

(1). Köhler, p. 494.

(2). Herzog - Hauck. Vol. XX. p. 184.

(3). Seeberg, IV. p. 380. *passim*.

(4). Sermon V. Sakr. p. 493.

and not dictate ways and means to him."(1). The Exegetical difficulties of the words of Institution never troubled Luther, and he denied the application of John VI. to the Lord's Supper. Nor did the manner of the union of the body and the bread disturb him.

We have now come to the point however, when another problem awakened his most profound concern. His opponents asserted the impossibility of the bodily presence in many places. If Luther meant to maintain his position, it was incumbent upon him to prove that the Ubiquity of the body was conceivable.(2). This led to THREE RESULTS, as LOOFS has pointed out.(3).

1 st. It compelled Luther to provide a speculative basis for his teaching.

2 nd, It revealed a difference in the Christological views of Luther and Zwingli. (4).

3rd. It developed the Reformed ideas of Luther in a marked manner.

On the other hand we have to remember TWO things, as Seeberg indicates. In the First place, for Luther, as a scholastically trained theologian, the problem was not an uncongenial one (5). He had the feeling of superiority of a dogmatically (scholastically) trained theologian, as compared with Zwingli, who had been bred in the Erasmic- Humanistic school.

In the Second place, Luther's Christology furnished the materials to be used in the solution of the problem. Luther had always thought of the two natures of Christ as so united, that the Man Jesus, was in all His words and works, the expression and the Organ of His divine nature. He knew no God except the one revealed in the Man Jesus. God is "present and substantial" in all things, but he dwells in Christ bodily, so that One Person is God and Man. (6).

I. Dass DIESE Worte. v. 23. p. 87.

II. do. p. 119. Herzog- Hauck. v. XX. p. 185.

III. Loofs. Leitfaden. p. 807.

IV. Bruce. Humiliation of Christ. p. 82..Dorner. Person of Christ II.p.53. Thomasius. Christi. Person und Werk. III.p. 13.

V. Seeberg. IV. p. 381.

VI. Herzog- Hauck. XX. p. 188.

The flesh of Christ is therefore, a divine flesh, a spirit flesh (ein GOTTESFLEISCH ein GEISTESFLEISCH). It is in God, and God in it. God has become completely man, so that all human attributes, such as suffering and dying, have also become His. (1).

The COMMUNICATIO IDIOMATUM is thus taken in its full meaning, and this denotes an advance on the traditional theology. (2).

"It marks a step forward in the development of the Christian religion," says Hermann, "It includes an inference not previously drawn. The practical identity of the human and the divine natures in the earthly life of Jesus is deliberately transferred to the state of exaltation (3)."

"If the words and deeds of Jesus on earth were the words and deeds of God, then are the works of the Lord in heaven, also the works of the Man Jesus, and this means that the Man Jesus is at the same time, the Omnipresent, and Omnipotent Lord of the world. If He is present at the Lord's Supper, He is there also as the Man Jesus, and since He rose from the dead bodily, therefore His body is also present in the sacrament"(2)

Thus the theory of UBIQUITY, is in Luther's understanding of it, only a logical inference from his Christology. (4).

The Christological proof is his FIRST line of argument for the UBIQUITY, and so for the presence of the body." I found on this article of our faith--Jesus Christ is essentially, naturally, really, fully God and man in one Person, Inseparable and undivided".(5).

We can understand, then, his attitude to Zwingli's teaching on the ALLOEOSIS.(6).

I. Dass diese Worte.v. XXIII.p. 243. Seeberg. IV. p. 381.

II. Seeberg. IV. p. 381. Herzog-Hauck.v. XX.p. 188.

III. Hermann. Union with God.p. 148.

IV. Seeberg. IV. p. 383. Herzog--Hauck. XX. p. 187.

V. Grosses Bekenntnis. XXX. p. 207.

VI. H. R. Mackintosh. Person of Christ. p. 233.

As Luther describes the Alloeosis in the GROSSES BEKENNTNISS," The Scriptures are supposed simply to take the one nature for the other, whilst each of the natures, in reality, yet remains so distinct from the other as to retain only its own characteristic modes of action and activity "(I). Against this, Luther cannot too constantly warn. He declares that the ALLOEOSIS is an entirely arbitrary invention of Zwingli, without any evidence from Scripture. Its grand mother is the old sorceress, Dame Reason. He turns against it the force of the fundamental interest of the Christian faith. " When the Scriptures speak of the sufferings of Christ, this is, according to Zwingli, to be understood only of his human nature. But in this case, Christ accomplishes nothing more by His sufferings than any other saint. If only the human nature suffered for us, then is Christ a poor Saviour, and stands in need indeed of a Saviour for Himself. If the Person of Christ is divided, as this accursed ALLOEOSIS teaches, the whole Christian faith, and the salvation of the world are at once swept away" (I).

That is Luther's criticism of the Alloeosis. It is a pertinent criticism, if we accept his understanding of it. But, as we have seen in our examination of the Haner Letter etc., Zwingli was just as decided as Luther in his maintenance of the Unity of the Person, and even Seeberg, the Lutheran Theologian, admits that Zwingli's ideas as to the divine and human natures, are orthodox. He only finds lacking the great Lutheran thought, that even the words and works of Christ are a revelation of God. (2).

(I). Grosses Bekenntnis, Vol. XXX. page 203-205.

(2). Seeberg Vol. IV., page 379.

Luther's SECOND Line of Proof for the Ubiquity of the body of Christ, and so for its presence in the Supper, is, as he informs us in the Grosses Bekenntniss, that the Right Hand of God is everywhere. (1).

Zwingli had repeatedly asserted that Christ is at the Right Hand of God. Luther ridicules Zwingli's idea of the Right Hand of God.

This cannot be conceived as a "Golden Chair beside the father." (2). The

Scriptures do not bind the right hand of God to any place, His right hand is "His Almighty Power, which cannot be anywhere, is enclosed in no single place, yet at the same time, is essentially present in all places even upon the smallest leaf of the tree, in the most inward, and the most outward thing, around and about, through and through, beneath and above, before and behind. If God is thus, substantial and present in all places, then His Right Hand is also everywhere in all things." (3).

Accordingly, Christ is also Omnipresent, and that too in His body, i.e.

He reigns and has power over all things. If He is to have power and reign, He must certainly also be there present and substantial. (4).

This Ubiquity must, of course, be applicable in a general sense, even apart from the Lord's Supper. The body of Christ is in every stone, in fire and water, but we can really find Him only where He has in his word directed us to seek him. "But He is then present for thee when He adds His word, and thereby binds Himself to thee, and says, 'Here shalt thou find Me.' Thou shalt not seize upon Him, although He is in thy bread, unless He bind Himself to thee, and assign thee a particular table, by a word, and point out to thee the very bread by His Word." (5).

As is the divine nature, so also is Christ, in His body near to all, and it is only a question of His revealing Himself. But this revelation takes place in the Words of Institution, which instruct us to seek and find in a particular loaf Him, who is essentially present in every loaf. (6).

(1). Hauck - Herzog, Vol. XX, page 187. Grosses Bekenntnis, p. 207.

(2). Dass diese Worte V. 23, page 131.f

(3). do. page 143.

(4). do. page 145.

(5). do. page 151.

(6). Seeberg, IV. page 385.

The Presence of the glorified body is to be conceived of in the same manner as the divine presence in the world in general. "God is not such an outspread, long, broad, thick, deep, Being, filling the world, as straw fills a sack." (1).

We are not therefore, to think, of any sensible local presence. There are three modes of being in one place, according to Luther. (2).

(A). Locally or Circumscriptively.

(B). Definitively.

(C). Repletively.

This classification is of Scholastic origin. The first two modes are derived from Occam. The threefold classification (adding the repletive mode) was taken from Bēpl.

(A). A thing is locally (3) or in a comprehensible manner, in a place, when the place and the thing present in it correspond with and measure one another, as for example, the wine and the vessel, which it fills. In this way, the body of Christ was present, when He, walking upon the earth filled or vacated space, equal to the size of His body.

(B). Anything is "Definitively" or (4) "Incomprehensibly" present in a place, when it does not correspond with the portion of space in the latter, as an angel may be in a whole house, in one room, or even in a nutshell. In this way, can Christ's body be present, when it neither gives nor takes any space, but goes where it wills. Such was the manner in which Christ's body passed through the sealed stone or the closed door. And thus He passes, says Luther, upon all occasions, through all created things at His will. In such a way are we to conceive of the presence of Christ's body in the Lord's Supper. (5). We are, therefore to represent to ourselves the presence of Christ in the sense in which

(1). Bekenntnis, Vol. 26. page 339.

(2). Herzog Hauck, V. 20, page 180 Seeberg IV. p. 387.

(3). Koestlin, II. page 137. Bekenntnis, p. 327.

(4). Herzog - Hauck. Vol. XX. p. 189 do. p. 328.

(5). Bekenntnis. V. 26.p.335.f: Seeberg.V. IV: Herzog- Hauck.XX.p.188.

the soul permeates the body, and not in "the crude, fat and thick ideas" of the circumscriptive mode of existence." The word "in" is not to be understood in the sense in which "straw is in a sack and bread in a basket." Not in this external, local way is Christ's body in the Supper, but in some such way as colour and light are in the eye. A Sacramental unity (Einigkeit) exists between the body and the bread. But the body which is here spoken of, is the veritable body of Christ which was born of the Virgin.

(C). There is still another mode of bodily presence. A thing is Repletively or Supernaturally present, (1). when it is at the same time in its entirety at all places and fills all places, and is yet measured and contained by no place. According to the third mode of presence, all created things are for Him yet far more penetrable and more truly present, than according to the second. This Repletive mode of presence is also attributable to the body of Christ.

These are three suggestions of Luther as to the mode of the Saviour's presence in the Supper, but he expressly states that he has no thought of having thus exhausted the possible modes of divine presence, and that he does not seek to establish upon such grounds, the actual fact of the Sacramental presence, but that he only claims to have thus indicated, for the sake of those to whom the latter appeared irreconcilable with the continued existence of Christ in Heaven, a way in which the two conceptions can be very easily combined. The real basis of faith in the doctrine remains the word of God. "This is My body." (2).

What Luther was really contending for in all these speculations was the religious interest that Christ is present in the Supper as the Man Jesus, with the human nature (including his body) by which He effects our salvation. He was contending for the idea that in the Lord's Supper, there is the bestowal of a GIFT. Here lay the nerve of his opposition to Zwingli and Oekolampadius. (3).

I. Koestlin. II. p. 137.f.
 II. Herzog - Hauck. vol. XX. p. 189.
 III. Seeberg. IV. p. 389.

" The sacrament is not a sign of a future or absent thing, but a form of the thing present and yet invisible. It is not a mere act of remembrance or obligation, (Errinerung and Verpflichtung). Under the visible form of bread and wine are His invisible body and blood present"(1). The important^{thing} for which he contends, is, that Christ, and Christ the historical Redeemer is present, and that we are not merely to think of Him as present by an effort of the imagination or by the contemplation of faith.

The scholastic apparatus with which he seeks to establish this position, he regards as a means to an end. The Communicatio Idiomatum, the different modes of presence he suggests, are to be regarded in the light of interesting speculations. These speculations may have led to exaggerations. As Luther accused Zwingli of Nestorianism, so Zwingli accused Luther of creating an Alterum Infinitivum, and of Docetism.(2).

Perhaps, all such accusations were based on misunderstandings, which were occasioned by personal prejudices. It was when they came face to face at Marburg, that they found many points of contact. Meanwhile, before we proceed to the discussion of that Colloquy, it will be necessary to state precisely the leading tenets of the two antagonists.

I. Seeberg. IV. p. 389.
 II. Dorner. I. p. 322.ff.

Erl ED. vol. 30.p. 105.

The Position before MARBURG.

By Luther, it was positively asserted

- I. That in the Lord's Supper, Christ is not present only to faith.
 - II. That whoever accepts the miracle of the Incarnation, has no ground for doubting the presence of Christ IN and WITH the Elements.
 - III. That Christ is not shut up in heaven (quasi carcere), which was hardly what Zwingli taught.
 - IV. That it is necessary for Christ's body and blood to be in the Eucharist, to secure to the believers the forgiveness of sins.
- These were the main thoughts of Luther, stripped of all scholastic excrescences.

In opposition to them, Zwingli expressly denied.

- I. That the body of Christ corporeally eaten, can, or does forgive sins.
- II. That the body of Christ corporeally eaten, does, or can confirm faith.
- III. That the body of Christ is corporeally present in the Supper, as soon as the words, "This is My body", are spoken over the elements, (which we have seen, Luther never taught).
- IV. That the body of Christ can be corporeally present in the elements, for He is seated at the right hand of God. (I).

To these, Seeberg adds 2 further Denials on the part of Zwingli.

- V. That the body of Christ is, like the divine nature, Omnipresent.
- VI. That the body of Christ, corporeally eaten, preserves our body for the Resurrection. (2).

- I. Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Prof. Hugh Watt.
- II. Seeberg. IV.p. 380.

These Negative statements voice an opinion which was not merely private to him, but which was affirmed at an official Disputation at Bern (January 6 1528).

DISPUTATION AT BERN. (I).

This Disputation was attended by Zwingli, and other Swiss preachers. It was a complete triumph for the Reformed faith.

Hereafter, Bern, Zurich, and Basel- the THREE most enlightened and influential German cantons, were closely linked together in one common cause.

The TEN THESES or CONCLUSIONS, revised by Zwingli, were adopted as a sort of Confession of Faith for the Reformed Church of Bern.

Only TWO of these Conclusions concern us here. (2).

In Thesis IV, the corporal presence is entirely abandoned,
 " The essential and corporal presence of the body of Christ and His blood cannot be demonstrated from the Holy Scriptures."

In Thesis V, The Mass is condemned.

" The Mass as now in use, in which Christ is offered to God, the Father, for the sins of the living, and the dead, is contrary to the Scriptures, and blasphemy against the most Holy Sacrifice, passion, and death of Christ, and on account of its abuses, an abomination before God".

The results of the Disputation at Bern were full of significance for Germany. Zwingli's view of the Lord's Supper was there proclaimed as that of not merely a few isolated theologians and scattered cantons, but as that of the larger and more influential part of Switzerland. Four South German Cities had dared to side with Zwingli openly in his rejection of the Corporal presence.

I. Hundeshagen. p. 22. Köhler.p. 579.f. Baur. I.p. 531
 II. Creeds of Christendom. p. 365.

CHAPTER SEVEN. - Pages 89 to 109.

Zwingli's THIRD period....Marburg (1529)..till his Death in 1531.

Preparations for the Marburg Conference.

Discussion at Marburg.

Results at Marburg.

Influence of Marburg on the Augsburg Confession.

Augsburg Confession...Article Ten.

The Tetrapolitan Confession....GERM OF CALVINISM.

Zwingli's FIDEI RATIO.....July. 1530.

Zwingli's Auslegung des Christlichen Glaubens....1531.

FINAL SUMMING UP OF ZWINGLI'S DOCTRINE.

Zwingli's Death at Kappel. 1531.

CHAPTER SEVEN.C - ZWINGLI'S THIRD PERIOD....MARBURG AND AFTER. (1).

We have now come to the THIRD PERIOD of Zwingli's brief career as a Reformer, and we have once more evidence of POSITIVE elements in his teaching. We meet here the same ideas as we encountered in the Letter to WYTTENBACH, only they are considerably developed, so that, as Miéville says, "We can regard the writings of all this Third period as a commentary on this Letter" (2).

If we can characterise Zwingli's First Period (1522-1524) as Zwingli and the Mass, and the Second Period as Zwingli and Luther (1524-1528) we can regard this Final phase (1528-1531) as Zwingli and BUCER.

We can trace the mediating hand of Bucer in most of the transactions of this last period.

Bucer was present at the Marburg Conference, and for many years after he strove to effect a doctrinal understanding between Saxony and Switzerland.

The Diet of SPEIER (April 1529) had given new strength to the Roman party, and in this critical situation, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse formed a secret agreement with the cities of Strasbourg and St. Gall, for their mutual protection. These cities sided with Zwingli on the Eucharistic question, and this made it very desirable that the parties to this new compact should come to an understanding on this debated question of doctrine.

After consulting Melanchthon personally at Speier, and Zwingli by letter, the Landgrave issued formal invitations to the Reformers to meet in Marburg. Zwingli received the invitation with joy.

He and Philip of Hesse had political and theological sympathies. Zwingli who was a statesman, as well as a Reformer, conceived about that time far-reaching combinations in the interests of the Reformation.(1). "The hands Zwingli and Philip held out to Luther were not pure hands," says Harnack, (3) "but the Wittenbergers (Luther and Melanchthon) realised

I. Schmitt. Das Religionsgespräch zu Marburg.
Baur. II.p. 612. Wernle. p. 287.

II. Miéville. p. 88.

III. Harnack. Dogmengeschichte. vol. VII. p. 260.

".... this fact, and would have nothing to do with alliances, unless against a foreign foe." (1).

Luther had a still stronger motive to discourage a colloquy. He had described the Swiss divines as dangerous heretics, and was unwilling to negotiate with them except on terms of absolute surrender. The Wittenbergers, therefore received the invitation to a conference with distrust. But the Elector was unwilling to displease the Landgrave of Hesse, and commanded the Reformers to attend. (2)

The famous Conference was held on the first three days of Oct. 1529, and it was of great importance for the elucidation of doctrine.

"The Meeting was something supreme and world significant", says Ranke (3). The Landgrave first arranged a private interview between the lions and the lambs, i.e., between Luther and Oekolampadius; Zwingli and Melanchthon. The two pairs met after divine service, in separate chambers, and conferred for several hours. Luther and Melanchthon had certain prejudices regarding the Swiss, and Zwingli's solemn declaration that he adhered to the Nicene and Athanasian symbols occasioned great surprise. In a few hours, Luther and Melanchthon were convinced that they had not to do with Fanatics, and this created a better atmosphere for the discussion of the doctrine of the Supper. Immediately Zwingli and Melanchthon engaged in a private conversation on this matter. The reports of the discussions are defective, but enough is known to prove that on one point, the Spiritual Manducation which is given with faith, they were at one. This is important, for here we find Zwingli reverting to his original idea, that faith in Christ's death involves a living union with Him. We have seen that he practically denied this in the Second period of his teaching. He returned now to his old basis. The further question might have been discussed as to whether the Mystical union experiences a strengthening in the Supper, but this question was not raised.

I. Harnack. Dogmengeschichte. VII. p. 260.

II. Rothe. Kirchengeschichte. II. p. 334. f. Baur. II. p. 612.

III. Ranke. Vol. III. p. 122. f.

Hospinian. Hist. Sac. Vol. II. p. 74. ff.

Collin. Die Notate. des Ohrenzeugen.

The point of argument now was, as to whether, along with that inner, continuous manducation, there is another of a different kind - an Oral Manducation. Melanchthon affirmed it. Zwingli denied it. Zwingli

appealed to Augustine, but Melanchthon rejected the Patristic testimony. Zwingli appealed to John VI. 63, but Melanchthon, as Luther before him, said that the verse referred to the carnal understanding of Christ's words (Carnalis intellectus), and that only the declaration of a coarse eating (Grobmundliches Essen) is fleshly. (1)

"He who teaches that Christ's body is eaten circumscriptively and visibly, as animal flesh, he teaches in a fleshly way, as forbidden in John VI. 63. But Luther does not teach that, but rather maintains that Christ's body, though eaten with the mouth, is yet eaten in a certain mysterious manner."

Zwingli then answered, "But where does Scripture teach such an Oral, and yet not Fleshly Eating? This whole idea is put forth artificially and is in no wise sanctioned by Christ and the Apostles."

Melanchthon had to grant that this Scholastic definition is derived from the words of Institution, where Christ gives His body to be eaten orally, and elsewhere denies a fleshly partaking.

Zwingli now indicated to Melanchthon that he was involved in a *Petitio Principii*, since he rested the possibility of his interpretation of the words of Institution on the idea of the oral, as distinguished from the fleshly participation, and rested this again on the words of Institution. Melanchthon now fell back on the canon, that one ought not, without cause, to depart from the literal interpretation of Scripture.

Zwingli however, had shown him that there is such a necessity in John VI, in that there, the oral partaking is excluded, but no distinction made between a coarse and a fine oral manducation. (2).

- (I) . Baur II. 612. - 643. passim.
 Wernle. page 287. passim.
 Schaff. Swiss Ref. II. page 629.
 (II). Wernle. page 287-294.
 Baur. II. pp. 624 - 642.
 Schaff. Swiss Ref. II. page. 640.f.

The discussion then turned on the Circumscription of the body of Christ. (1).

Melanchthon denied this, quoting Ephes. IV.10 (Christ has ascended indeed, but in order to fill all things), affirming that one must not think of Christ's body being in one place.

To that Zwingli replied, "Truly Christ fills all things with His Power and Might, but not with His body."

"According to several Pauline texts, Christ's body is like our body, a real, true body, which cannot be in different places at the same time." All sources are silent as to the remainder of this discussion, but already, some progress had been made.

^{Saturday} On Sunday, Oct. 2nd., the Colloquy was resumed. Luther and Melanchthon, Zwingli and Oekolampadius sat at one table near the Landgrave Philip. In great Capital letters, Luther wrote the Words of Institution on the table, - HOC EST CORPUS MEUM.

He began the conversation by affirming that he would abide by this declaration. He demanded that the Fathers should not be appealed to, and that regard should only be taken of the Word of God. The debate was chiefly exegetical, and brought out no new argument. It was simply a recapitulation of the preceding controversy, with less heat and more gentlemanly courtesy. Luther took his stand on the literal sense of the Words of Institution. The Swiss appealed to the words of Christ. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth. The flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken unto you, are spirit and life." Luther called upon the Swiss to prove the Absence of Christ, but protested at the outset against arguments drawn from geometry and reason. Oekolampadius, in reply, said he would abstain from philosophical arguments and appeal to the Scriptures. He quoted several passages, which have an obviously figurative meaning, but especially John VI; 63, which, in his judgment, furnished the key for the interpretation of the Words of Institution. He employed the Syllogism, "Christ cannot contradict Himself; He said 'The flesh profiteth nothing,' and thereby rejected the oral manducation of His body. Therefore He cannot mean such a manducation in the

I. Baur II. 612-643. passim.
 Wernle p. 287. passim.
 Schaff. Swiss Ref. II. p. 629 f.f.

Lord's Supper." (1)

Luther denied the second proposition, and asserted that Christ did not reject oral but only gross, material (grobmundlich) manducation, like that of the flesh of oxen or of swine.

Oekolampadius next objected that the bodily presence is a matter of opinion, and not of faith, Faith relates to God.

Luther's view, on the other hand, led to a reliance on earthly elements.

The exegetical investigation was thus departed from, and a religious, philosophical discussion then took place. Luther now tried to elevate the question from the faith which is related to the Bread and Wine to that higher faith which relates to God. "One ought not^{to} direct one's faith to the Bread and Wine, unless God commands it. To lift up a blade of straw from the ground is a spiritual transaction, " he pleaded, "if God commanded it. Merely because God wills and says it, must we believe that Christ's body is in the bread, and is orally partaken of. If God says anything, we must believe it, even if He says that a horse shoe is His body."

Oekolampadius then mildly asked whether the oral manducation makes believers partakers of any blessing which they do not already possess in the spiritual manducation.

Luther replied that he acknowledged no such particular blessing, but angrily retorted, "I do not ask what is the profit of the bodily eating, but whether it is written. It is enough that God has said it. Men must therefore do it. If God should order me to eat dung, I would do it, being assured that it would be salutary. We must close the eyes. But the eating of which I speak, is a sublime spiritual fruition and yet with the mouth."

This concluded the conversation between Oekolampadius and Luther.

Zwingli now interposed.

He began with the statement, "The Sacrament is no 'Opus Operatum', God.

(1). Baur. II. 624 - 642.

Wernle. page 287 - 294.

Schaff. Swiss Ref. II. page 640.

does not command us to eat dung or to do anything unreasonable, in order to be happy (selig), but to eat and drink the body of the Crucified One, i.e. the death of Christ who gave Himself for us, in order that through His death, He might be our life and food. Jesus says that His flesh bodily eaten, profits nothing, why then should he command Christians to eat it bodily?" (1)

To that Luther immediately replied, "The words stand there clear and plain. If God put crab apples before me, and commanded me to eat, I should not question why. Christ adds to the spiritual eating in the Supper. the Bodily. That we shall do and believe. The mouth receives the body of Christ. The soul believes the Word of God."

Zwingli now quoted a number of figurative passages, but Luther always pointed his finger to the Words of Institution, as he had written them on the table. He denied that the discourse in John VI. had anything to do with the Lord's Supper.

Zwingli insisted on the relevancy of this passage to the discussion, and growing excited, he exclaimed, "That passage breaks your neck."

Luther took the jibe literally, and cried, "Do not boast too much. You are in Hesse, not in Switzerland. In this country, we do not break people's necks. Spare such proud words till you get back to your Swiss."

The Landgrave here interposed and said, "You should not take offence at such common expressions." But the agitation was so great that the meeting had to be adjourned. The Colloquy was resumed in the afternoon, and turned on the Christological question.

"I believe," said Luther, "that Christ is in Heaven, but also in the Sacrament, as substantially as He is in the Virgin's womb. I care not whether it be against reason and nature, provided it be not against faith."

Oekolampadius maintained that Luther's view was contrary to Faith, for the orthodox faith teaches that "Christ, according to His human nature is like us."

(1). Wernle. 287 - 294.

Baur. II. 624 - 642.

Schaff. Swiss Ref. II. page 640.

We have no record of Luther's reply to this statement, but afterwards he admitted that it was the best argument that his opponents had brought forward. "We know Christ not after the flesh," continued Oekolampadius. But to this Melanchthon responded that it was a question of the "Corruptible Flesh." (1).

And now the exegetical argument was resumed. "You deny the metaphor in the Words of Institution," said Oekolampadius, "but you must admit a Synecdoche. For Christ does not say, 'This is Bread and My Body' (as you hold), but simply, 'This is My body.'"

"A metaphor admits the existence of a sign only," responded Luther "but a synecdoche admits the thing itself, as when I say (2), 'The sword is in the scabbard,' or 'The beer is in the bottle,'" No reason would convince him of His opponents arguments in exegesis, but to every statement he had only one answer, "The text demands it."

Zwingli now directed the discussion to the dogmatic question, and on that line, the conversation continued until the end of the Colloquy. He based his argument on Rom. VIII. 3, Phil. II. 7, and Heb. II. 17, that Jesus according to His Humanity is like us, and so has a true, human body. That requires,

(A). That Jesus' body is a true body, formed and circumscribed.

(B). That it cannot be in several places at once.

To these arguments, Luther angrily responded, "I grant that Christ's body is circumscribed. I care nothing about Mathematics, but I will not grant your second proposition. I will not have it," he cried excitedly, "I will not have it."

To this Zwingli is said to have sarcastically replied, "And because you will not have it, it cannot be." (2).

The contest now grew incoherent, and was broken up by a call to a meal.

(1). Wernle. 287 - 294.

Ebrard. II. Page 286.

Baur. II. 624 - 642.

Schaff. Swiss Ref. II. Page 641.

The next day, Sunday, it was renewed. (Oct. 3rd.). I.

Zwingli began with Luther's admission as to the circumscription of the body, and maintained that a body could not be in different places at once. "God can so effect it that a body, the body of any man, can be, or not be, in one place. In the Sacrament, Christ's body is not present in a spatial manner," said Luther. He quoted the School-men to the effect that there are different kinds of presence. "The universe is a body, and yet not in a particular place."

Zwingli objected to the evidence of the Sophists, and again quoted from Augustine, who says, "Christ is everywhere present as God, but as to His body, He is in Heaven."

He quoted also from Fulgentius, "Christ's human nature was not every where diffused."

But to that, Luther replied that in these words, there was no question of the Supper, and that Fulgentius, as also Augustine, in one sense, describes the Supper as a sacrifice. "Yes", said Zwingli, "As the Commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ."

Luther had to acknowledge that the Swiss had Augustine and Fulgentius on their side, but he claimed the support of all the other Fathers, and maintained that we must believe the old teachers only so far as they agree with the Word of God.

"We too, build on the Word of God, not on the Fathers," said Oekolampadius, "but we appeal to them to show that we teach no novelties". Luther, pointing again his finger to the words on the table, responded, "This is our text. You have not yet driven us from it. We care for no other proof."

"If that is so," said Oekolampadius, "We had better close the discussion." The Chancellor exhorted them to come to an understanding, but Luther replied, "There is only one way. Let our adversaries believe as we do." "We cannot," responded Zwingli, "Well then, I abandon you to God's judgment and pray that He will enlighten you," concluded Luther.

"We will do the same," answered Oekolampadius, "You need it as much as we." At this point, both parties mellowed down. Luther asked pardon for his

harsh words, and Zwingli assured Luther with tearful eyes, that there were no men in the world whose friendship he more desired, than that of the Wittenbergers, Sturm and Bucer spoke on behalf of Strasbourg, and vindicated their orthodoxy which had been impeached.

Luther's reply was cold and biting. He declared to the Strasbourgers, as well as to the Swiss, "Your spirit is different from ours."

The Landgrave once more brought the guests together on Sunday evening and urged on every one the supreme importance of coming to an understanding. On the Monday morning, he arranged another private conference between the Saxon and the Swiss Reformers. As a result of this, Luther drew up a common Confession in the German language.

It is arranged in a series of 15 Articles. The two parties agreed on 14 Articles, and even on the more important part of the 15th Art, which reads as follows:-

"We all believe, with regard to the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, that it ought to be celebrated in both kinds, according to the institution of Christ; that the Mass is not a work by which a Christian obtains pardon for another man, whether dead or alive, that the sacrament of the altar is the sacrament of the very body and the very blood of Jesus Christ, and that the spiritual manducation of this body and blood is specially necessary to every true Christian.

In like manner as to the Use of the sacrament, we are agreed, that like the Word, it was ordained of Almighty God in order that weak consciences might be excited by the Holy Ghost to faith and charity. And although at present we are not agreed on the question whether the real body and blood of Christ are corporally present in the bread and wine, yet both parties shall cherish Christian charity for one another, so far as the conscience of each will permit.

And both parties will earnestly implore Almighty God to strengthen us by His spirit in the true understanding." (1).

I. Wernle. p. 287-294.
Darwell Stone.

Baur. II. p. 624-642.
The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. II. p. 43.

Both sides claimed the victory. Zwingli thought that the truth, i.e., his view of it had prevailed, and that Luther was vanquished before all the world, Luther, on the other hand, thought that the Swiss had come over to him half-way, that they had humbled themselves, and begged his friendship.

EVALUATION OF THE RESULTS OF MARBURG.

It has been a common fashion to decry the Conference and to designate it as fruitless. We hold on the other hand that it was by no means a total failure.

What were the good Results?

I. The contestants learned to know one another better, and Luther came to realise that the Swiss were not mere ignorant Fanatics, but men of deep religious convictions and sound intellectual grasp.

"The Marburg Conference," says Kolde, "served more to the true understanding of the differences than to the bridging of them. (1).

The only point on which Zwingli differed from Luther was as to whether the true body and blood of Christ were present corporally in the bread and wine. As to this, we have not only the testimony of the Arts. themselves but that of the interesting letter of Luther to his wife, written the same day as the Articles were signed. "I do want you to know that our Colloquy at Marburg is at an end, and that we are agreed on almost every point, except that the opposite party wants to have only bread in the Lord's Supper, and acknowledges the Spiritual presence of Christ in the same." (2). No one can charge Zwingli with truckling to Luther on this occasion, and if he accepted as we have seen, a non-Zwinglian view of the sacrament, it clearly shows that he did not regard such a view as either inconsistent with Scripture, or inimical to the faith of the Reformed Church. Zwingli was obviously inclining again to his early and more positive testimony.

I. Herzog. -Hauck. XII. p. 255.

II. Schaff. Germ. Ref. II.p. 645.

II. There was a mutual undertaking to cease from controversial writings. This was of great importance for the succeeding years, and made possible the Wittenberg Concordia (1536), and the quiet development of the Calvin-Melanchthon type of doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

III. The Marburg Articles are also important as Ranke has discovered, for they are the same as the so-called SCHWABACH Articles, which in their turn, formed the basis of the AUGSBURG Confession. (1530). (1).

IV. The Marburg Colloquy had an important influence on Melanchthon. In touch with the cultured soul of Oekolampadius, he received the first impulse to the rejection of some of the scholastic elements of Luther's teaching. He continued in correspondence with Oekolampadius, and came finally to reject the literal interpretation of the words of institution and the Oral manducation. A certain influence is also evident in the wording of the 10th Art of the AUGSBURG Confession.

The AUGSBURG CONFESSION - Article 10.

It is [?]outwith our scope, to relate the historical circumstances that occasioned the DIET of AUGSBURG. It is sufficient to notice how it dealt with the question of the Lord's Supper.

In Art. 10, we read as follows,

"Of the Supper of the Lord, they teach that the true body and blood of Christ are truly present (under the form of the bread and wine), and are (there) communicated to those that eat in the Lord's Supper (and received). And they disapprove of those that teach otherwise (therefore also the opposite doctrine is rejected)".

This Article has both a Latin and a German form. "De coena Domini docent quod corpus et sanguis (wahrer Leib und Blut) Christi vere adsint (unter Gestalt des Brotes und Weines), et distribuantur vescentibus (da ausgetheilt und genommen wird) in coena Domini; et improbant secus docentes (derhalben wird auch die Gegenlehre verworfen)".

I. Schaff's Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches. p. 13.
Wernle. p. 295-304. Baur. II. p. 643.
Tschackert. Die unveränderte Augsburgerische Confession - Leipzig.
(1901).

The true opposition against Zwingli is here clearly set forth.

The Body and Blood of Christ are not merely present as an object of believing remembrance, but really (wahrhaftig) present.

One believes not only on Christ's death, but one receives the glorified Christ.

The False opposition of Luther to Zwingli's teaching is passed over in silence. In the Supper, Christ's body and blood are present in the act, in the whole of the sacramental transaction - not in the bread and wine. There is no question of an Orel (mundlich) manducation.

The word 'Vescentibus' in the Latin cannot be regarded as in opposition to the succeeding Calvinistic teaching, that only believers receive Christ. It would in that case have read 'Omnibus vescentibus'. This word is really in opposition to the Romish teaching, that the body of Christ is also present even after the moment of participation. Still less do the words of the German, 'unter Gestalt des Weines und Brot' contain the view of Luther as to the kind of presence. Had Luther said that the body of Christ is present under the form of the bread," that would have been transubstantiation, according to which, 'of the bread only the form remains'. These words were rather, as the special mention of the wine denotes, in opposition to the denying of the cup to the laity. The sacrament is administered under both forms. "Here we find," says Ebrard, "that teaching on the Lord's Supper expressed, as it had been developed through the mutual intercourse of Melanchthon and Oekolampadius. What Luther and Zwingli had not attained, was brought to pass through the milder influence of their two lieutenants. Will one now say that the ^{Mar}burg Colloquy was fruitless? The unity which was afterwards consummated between Melanchthon and Calvin, found its origin in Marburg. The 10th Art of Augsburg is a true but one-sided act of union. That Melanchthon had learned from Luther, - the real act of the mystical union with Christ he had positively expressed. That he had received from Oekolampadius,

viz., that the words of the institution speak above all of His broken body and the new testament in His shed blood - this, he only expressed negatively, in that he at that time, rejected the local presence in the bread and the oral manducation. The unity was there. It only needed to be developed."(1).

The only blot on the fame of the Lutheran confessors of Augsburg was the intolerant attitude towards the Reformed.

TETRAPOLITAN CONFESSION. (1). (Anticipation of Calvin).

The Four German cities (Strasbourg, Constance, Memmingen and Lindau) which sympathised with the Zwinglian view of the Lord's Supper, wished to sign the Confession, with the exception of the 10th Art. which rejected their view, but they were excluded, and forced to hand in a separate Confession of Faith.

This Tetrapolitan Confession is the oldest Confession of the Reformed Church in Germany, It was prepared in great haste, during the session of the Diet of Augsburg by Bucer, with the help of Capito and Hedio.

It was received very ungraciously by the Emperor, and never submitted to the diet. It is in doctrine and arrangement closely conformed to the Lutheran Confession, and breathes the same spirit of moderation.

The doctrine of the Lord's Supper (Chap. 18) is couched in dubious language, which was intended to comprehend in substance the Lutheran and Zwinglian theories, and accords with the Union tendency of Bucer. "In this ordinance, it is said, "Christ offers His true body and blood as spiritual food and drink, whereby souls are nourished to everlasting life, so that now He may live and abide in them and they in Him." In this statement, the relation of Christ's body to the bread as bread, is kept in the background. Nothing is said of the Oral manducation and the participation of unbelievers, which are distinctive features of the Lutheran view. The caution is expressly given that the subscribers of this Confession do not wish to be represented as "administering,

(I) Ebrard. II. p. 357.

(II) Niemeyer. Page. 740-760.

"...nothing but mere bread at our Suppers".

The Four Cities further declared that their preachers diligently endeavour to turn the attention of the people away from the strife and the superfluous questions upon the subject to that which alone is profitable, and which Christ had in view.

"For so fed upon Him, we live in Him and by Him, and are also one body and one bread among ourselves etc".

There still remains here the idea so contrary to Luther's position, i.e., the description of the blessing of the sacrament as food for the soul. But the attempt to adopt, as far as possible the Lutheran propositions as presented at Marburg is very evident, especially in the designation, of the Body as 'the true Body'

It is particularly noticeable too, that the emphasis here, as by Luther himself, appears to be laid upon the dispensing of an objective gift from God in the sacrament, and a corresponding receptivity on the part of the communicant.

In its view that the nourishment received is a nourishment merely of the soul, the Confession is most nearly related to the Swabian Syn-gramma of Brenz. This observation is made by Koestlin (1), who would thus agree with Schaff (2), "that the Tetrapolitan Confession contains the GERM of the Calvinist view."

The Four Cities afterwards signed the Lutheran Confession to join the Smalcald League, but Bucer himself remained true to his Union creed, and reconfessed it on his deathbed.

Zwingli's FIDEI RATIO. (3).

Zwingli did not attend the Diet of Augsburg, but availed himself of the opportunity to transmit to the Emperor a Confession of his faith. It was dated, July 3rd, 1530, and was submitted "not merely from a desire to set forth his own individual belief, but with a view to subjecting it, as well as everything else that he had written, to the judgment of the true church - that is the church that is founded on the Word of God".

(1). Koestlin. II. p. 156. II. Schaff. Germ. Ref. II. p. 720.
 (II). Opera. IV. 1-18. Jackson. Zwingli. Appendix. p. 466-478.
 Wernle. p. 315. Baur. II. p. 643. ff.

Zwingli's FIDEI RATIO was treated with contempt and never laid before the Diet.

It begins with the statement (I). "I believe that in the Holy Eucharist the true body of Christ is present by the contemplation of faith i.e., that they who thank the Lord for the kindness bestowed on us in His Son, acknowledge that He assumed true flesh; in it, truly suffered, truly washed away our sins in His own blood, and thus, everything done by Christ becomes present to them by the contemplation of faith. But that the true body in essence and reality, i.e., the natural body itself, is either present in the Supper or masticated with our mouth our teeth, we not only deny, but firmly maintain is an error opposed to God's Word." (2). Here Zwingli rejects all and every enjoyment of the body of Christ.

This statement he supports with a THREEFOLD PROOF.

The FIRST PROOF is out of the divine Oracles.

The text, "Me ye have not always," excludes the presence of Christ's body, but not the presence of his divinity, for the latter is present according to another divine word. "Lo I am with you always". The maintaining of the ubiquity of the humanity of Christ takes away that humanity, for, ubiquity belongs only to the divine being. An illustration for the relation of the divinity to the humanity is the Sun, whose body is in one place, while his virtue pervades all things. "The human body also surmounts the stars and penetrates hell, but the body is in one place".

Other texts which Zwingli quotes are, John XVI&28, Luke XXIV & 51, "He was parted from them and taken up into heaven". He does not say, 'He vanished and rendered Himself invisible'. Mark XVI& 19 says "He was received up into Heaven and sat down at the right hand of God". He does not say 'He remained here, but rendered His body invisible'. Zwingli also shows that during Christ's earthly life, He is always thought of as remaining in one definite place. He was in the manger, on the Cross, at Jerusalem, in the Sepulchre. (3).

-
- I. Jackson. Zwingli. p. 470. Baur. II. p. 660 Opera. IV. 1-18.
 - II. Baur II. p. 661.
 - III. Jackson. p. 473.

These testimonies deny the presence of Christ's body anywhere else than in heaven" And whatever contradictions the things which we propose to ourselves concerning God's power compel yet this power must not be so tortured as to compel us to believe that God acts contrary to His Word". (I).

"From John VI & 63, it follows, that the flesh of Christ is only advantageous for spiritual enjoyment. If then, the flesh of Christ is salutary to the soul, it should be eaten spiritually and not carnally. This also pertains to the substance of the sacraments, that spirit is generated of spirit, and not of any corporeal matter". In the Second Place, Zwingli deals with the Futility of the Bodily Presence.

One party affirms that this bodily presence brings forgiveness of sins, but if this is so, then the disciples obtained this already in the first Supper, and Christ died in vain. (2).

"If that which is bodily eaten imparts the virtue of the passion and redemption, then this virtue was imparted, before it was acquired. If the body is fed for the Resurrection, as another party asserts, then would this bodily partaking much more heal and relieve our body of sickness, Again, if the natural body of Christ was given to Christ's disciples in the Supper, it necessarily follows that they ate it as it was. But this body of Christ was then susceptible to suffering. It was not yet glorified. But they say that they ate the same body, yet not susceptible to suffering, as it was, but the same as it was after the Resurrection. But that would mean that Christ had two bodies- a glorified and an unglorified body. It would mean that He did not truly suffer, and we should be landed in Marcionism."(2).

- I. Opera. IV. 1 to 18. Wernle. p. 323. f. Baur. II. p. 662.
 II. Jackson. Zwingli. Appendix. p. 477. Baur. p. 663.

In the Third Place, Zwingli proves his thesis from Patristic sources. He appeals to Ambrose and Augustine and concludes, "Let them who wish, go now and condemn us for heresy, while they know that by the same word, they are condemning the Pillar of theologians...For from these facts it becomes evident that the ancients always spoke symbolically when they attributed so much to the eating of the body in the Supper; viz., not that sacramental manducation could cleanse the soul, but faith in the Lord Jesus Christ which is spiritual manducation, whereof these external things are symbols and shadows. (1)"

It may be asserted that the Fidei Ratio gives no grounds for our contention, that in his Third period (1528-1531), Zwingli returned to his earlier and richer conception of the Lord's Supper. Luther is said to have seen in it the same teaching which he combatted in his *Wider die Himmelschen Propheten*, but we must remember that here Zwingli was dealing with only one point of the Lutheran doctrine (the presence of the natural body of Christ in the Supper.) He certainly emphasises the Thanksgiving aspect and the spiritual presence for the contemplation of faith. But faith to Zwingli was a very rich conception, and in his use of the Sun as an illustration, we have an anticipation of the Dynamic theory of Calvin. There is perhaps no clear indication that in this writing, he satisfied Luther's minimum demand, that in the sacrament we receive a Gift, There is however no mention of the elements as 'bare and empty signs', and when we recollect that during its preparation, Zwingli was still smarting under the hard, proud words of Luther, spoken after Marburg, we could hardly expect him to be sweeping in his concessions to the Lutheran position.

1. Opera IV. 1 to 18. Baur. II. p.663. Jackson. p.477. Wernle. p.322.

Zwingli's AUSLEGUNG DES CHRISTLICHEN GLAUBENS (1531). (I).

It is when we come to Zwingli's 'Swan Song' in the Auslegung des Christlichen Glaubens, addressed to Francis I., that we find strong and definite testimony to the rich contents of his views on the Lord's Supper.

Where could we find better evidence than the following? "We believe that Christ is truly present in the Lord's Supper; yea we believe that there is no communion without the presence of Christ. This is the PROOF: 'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them' (Matt. XVIII. and 29.) How much more is He present, where the congregation is assembled to His honour? But that His body is literally eaten, is far from the truth, because He Himself says, 'I am no more in the world (John XVII. and 11) and the flesh profiteth nothing' (John XV. and 23.). It is contrary to faith (I mean the holy and true faith) because faith embraces Love, Fear of God, and Reverence, which abhor such carnal and gross eating.....We believe that the true body of Christ is eaten in the communion in a sacramental way by the religious, believing and pious heart. And this is in brief, the substance of what we maintain in this controversy." (I).

The proof is on the old familiar lines, but we have here the assertion of the presence of Christ in the Supper, and of that presence as essential to validity. Further, we have the assertion that the body of Christ is eaten in the Supper 'essentially and spiritually'. In fact, we have a doctrine closely approximate to that of Calvin, COSIN, OVERALL, JEREMY, TAYLOR AND HOOKER in England. CALVIN at one time spoke of Zwingli's doctrine as Profane, but in his later writings (2nd. Defence against Westphal), he recognised it as consonant with his own. He did not deny a difference, but he saw that it was only a difference in emphasis.

His defence of Zwingli is chivalrous, but it is evidently sincere.

(I). Opera. IV. 42 - 78. Wernle. p. 330. Baur. II. p. 754 ff.

FINAL SUMMING UP OF ZWINGLI'S DOCTRINE.

One who knows Calvin and his teaching will suspect him of tolerating a doctrine of Mere Commemoration.

There is no reason to doubt that Zwingli would have assented ex animo to the view of Overall, "In the sacrament of the Eucharist, the body and blood of Christ, and in fact all of Christ is offered to the worthy receiver, not by the mode of transubstantiation, or consubstantiation, but by the Holy Spirit, working through faith." (1).

It will not be necessary to point out how widely this view of the sacrament differs from that commonly attributed to Zwingli.

There are those who like Miéville, see no development in his view, and consider his teaching as of one piece throughout.

There are those who ascribe his later and richer teaching to a desire to comply with the demands of Luther.

There are those again who see in his teaching a want of clarity, and compare him with the profound, consistent thinker CALVIN.

Our thesis is that there were in his teaching on the Lord's Supper, Three Definite Phases.

He had his First rich and positive period (1521-1524), when he combatted the Mass as a repeated, propitiatory sacrifice.

There was a Second period (1524-1528), when he came to grips with Luther, and opposed the presence of the body of Christ IN or SUB the consecrated bread.

We have just been considering the THIRD period (1528-1531), where we see traces of his earlier and richer teaching.

In the first two periods, when his writings are mainly critical, there are not a few passages, when he sweeps away more than he intends.

This is plainly the explanation of Calvin, who says in his Second Answer to Westphal, (2) "Oekolampadius at the commencement of the Dispute, from being too intent on refuting superstition did not speak of the sacrament in sufficiently honourable terms". When Zwingli met

(1). Dr. Anderson Scott. Expositor. 1901.

(2). 2nd Defence adv. Westphal. Tracts p. 275.

with opponents who asserted that the body of Christ was 'essentially and corporally eaten', he seems at times to surrender a partaking of any kind. But in all such cases, his testimony must be corrected by his own more positive assertions.

If anyone were to start from Zwingli's positive doctrine as collated from his utterances in the first and third period, and from scattered utterances in the second, and were patiently to bear in mind the narrowness of the field towards which his criticisms were directed, I venture to think that he would find little difficulty in harmonising even the most negative passages with the non-'Zwinglian' view which this thesis claims for him.

One other point seems ^{worth} adverting to. Throughout his works, and especially in his controversy with Luther, we find Zwingli appealing to Augustine. "Augustine thinks with us," he says to the Emperor Charles. (1). At Marburg, Luther candidly admitted, "You have Augustine and Fulgentius on your side."

Does this point to a misunderstanding on the part of Luther and Zwingli of the teaching of Augustine, or to an ambiguity in the teaching of Augustine himself?

Canon Gore has remarked this ambiguity. "Augustine's language, as a whole, is certainly susceptible of being interpreted in the sense of an objective spiritual presence in the elements, or it may be fairly interpreted on a receptionist theory like Hooker's. It is in fact somewhat ambiguous." (2).

Professor Mackinnon also speaks of Augustine's "incongruous body of religious thought, in which the contradictions are not really unified". (3). There is certainly more in common between Augustine's view of the sacrament and Zwingli's than has generally been supposed, and if there is some inconsistency or ambiguity about Zwingli's teaching also, he too may be pardoned, and not dubbed a Zwinglian. (4).

(1). Jackson Zwingli. Appendix. p. 477.

(2). Gore. Dissertations. p. 232.

(3). Professor Mackinnon. Luther and the Reformation. p. 56.

(4). Dr. Anderson Scott. Expositor. 1901.

ZWINGLI'S DEATH.

Zwingli's life came to an untimely end soon after the issue of the FIDEI RATIO. He fell on the bloody field of Kappel in 1531. Luther was so affected with the intelligence, as he tells us himself, that his sleep was turned into a night of weeping and of tears. Later however, in 1545, he could regard Zwingli's death as a judgment of God.

CHAPTER EIGHT. Pages 110 to 115.

POSITION OF THE QUESTION, when CALVIN began to write.

Attempts at Mediation by Bucer.

The First Confession of Basel (1534).

The First Helvetic Confession.... (1536).

The Wittenberg Concordia....(1536).

Letter of the Swiss to Luther.

Luther's Answer to the Swiss Letter.

The Ground already prepared for Calvin's Theory in the
Teaching of the Swabian Synagamma, the TETRAPOLITAN
Confession, the WITTENBERG CONCORDIA, and the TWO Pre-Calvin
Swiss Confessions.

CHAPTER EIGHT.

THE POSITION OF THE QUESTION, WHEN CALVIN BEGAN TO WRITE.

THE MEDIATING EFFORTS OF BUCER.

There now followed, through a series of years, the well-intentioned, but ill-conducted negotiations of Bucer, to effect a general concord. These, we have not space to follow in detail.

To begin with, it was necessary to satisfy Luther that the Tetrapolitan Confession (of which Bucer was the author), itself involved no essential variation from that of Augsburg.

Next we have Bucer in his first Campaign in 1533 at Zurich, trying to persuade the Helvetic divines that they might easily come to a similar pacification. They were too honest however, to fall in with his imagination that the difference could be thus reduced to nothing. They charged him with being unfair to them or to Luther in pretending to agree with both. (1).

After proper preliminary preparations, we find him in 1535 again on the field; negotiating now with Melanchthon and Luther, and coming to the result finally of the Declaration of Cassel, in which the bread and wine were said to be "Exhibitive Signs involving by sacramental union, the simultaneous presence of Christ's flesh and blood." (2).

Then came the Third Campaign in 1536, resulting in the celebrated Concord of Wittenberg.

It was necessary now to unite the Helvetic Church in the Cassel Formula, for Switzerland was at that time not itself of one mind. The Swiss expressed their view in

(1). Ebrard, II. page 367.
 (2). do. do. 375.

THE FIRST CONFESSION OF BASEL - JANUARY, 1534. (I).

Nearest to Strasbourg stood Basel, which issued the above Confession at Bucer's request, to show the world that the Swiss were not fairly liable to the reproach of having the Supper without Christ.

It was supposed to have been the production originally of Oekolampadius, and it was now revised and improved by his successor Myconius.

On the question of the Lord's Supper it reads as follows:- "In the Lord's Supper, (in which ^{with} the bread and wine of the Lord are represented and offered to us by the minister of the Church, the true body and blood of Christ), bread and wine remain unchanged.

We firmly believe, however, that Christ Himself, (ipsummet) is the food of believing souls unto eternal life, and that our souls, by true faith upon Christ crucified, are made to eat and drink the flesh and blood of Christ; so that we, members of His Body, live in Him, as He also lives in us; whereby we shall at the last day, by Him and in Him, rise to everlasting life, blessedness and joy." (I).

Here we have a decided advance in Oekolampadius' teaching. It is not merely the Crucified Christ who is our soul-food, but the person of Christ enters into Mystical Union with us, so that we become members of His Mystical Body. Here we have the groundlines of the subsequent teaching of Calvin. And Oekolampadius wrote this Confession a year before Zwingli's death! (2). This Confession contained in truth the very view of Bucer.

Zurich was more disposed to adhere to the narrower conception, though favourably disposed also to the idea of union. Bern for a time clung most stiffly to the same teaching, under the influence especially of Megander, a zealot on the Swiss side, who may be taken as a fair counterpart to Westphal on the Lutheran side. A strong counter influence however, gained ground here also, more and more. Finally, Bucer and Capito were empowered to represent the general Helvetic Council, and to negotiate on its behalf, articles of agreement with Luther and the Saxon divines, on the basis of the first Helvetic Confession, published a short time before.

(I). Schaff's Creeds of Christendom. page 387.
Hospinian, Hist, Sacr. II. page 224. Art. 6.
(2). Ebrard. II. page 370. note.

FIRST HELVETIC CONFESSION. (1).

This Confession which is sometimes called the 2nd. Confession of Basel, was framed by Bullinger, Myconius and Grynaeus in 1536, Its language on the Lord's Supper is as follows:-"Concerning the Mystical Supper, we thus judge that the Lord in it truly offers to His people His own body and blood, that is Himself, to the end that he may live more and more in them, and they in Him. Not that the body and blood are naturally united with the bread and wine, or locally included in them, or are made carnally present in any way; but that the Lord Himself, through the ministry of the Church, makes the true communication of His body and blood to be exhibited, not as perishable food for the body, but as the aliment of eternal life." This Confession is a further anticipation of the teaching of Calvin.

In opposition to Zwingli, it is taught, (2) that not merely Christ's merits but Christ's person is communicated to us.

In opposition to Luther, it says nothing of an oral manducation, or a communication to the unworthy, but emphasises the central nature of the Mystical Union between the soul and Christ.

WITTENBERG CONCORDIA. (3).

On the basis of the first Helvetic Confession, the Wittenberg Concordia was drawn up in 1536. This formula was prepared by Melancthon, and contains the following propositions:-

(A). We confess in the words of Irenaeus that the Eucharist consists of two things - a heavenly and an earthly. Therefore we feel and teach that with the bread and wine are truly and substantially present, exhibited and received, the body and blood of Christ.

- (1). Creeds of Ev. Prot. Churches. page 225. Art. 23.
Niemeyer, Col. Conf. page 112.
(2). Ebrard, II. page 380.
(3). Corp. Ref. III. page 75. ff.

(B). And although we deny Transubstantiation, and do not believe that there is any local inclusion in the bread, nor any combination enduring beyond the actual duration of the Sacrament, nevertheless, we grant that the bread is, by a sacramental union, the body of Christ, i.e. we believe that, with the offered bread, there is at the same time, present and exhibited, the body of Christ.

(C). Hence we believe that this institution of the Sacrament has validity in the Church, and does not depend on the worthiness of the administrant, nor of the recipient. Wherefore, as Paul says that the unworthy also eat, we therefore, believe that the body and blood of the Lord are truly offered even to the unworthy, and that the unworthy receive them, where the words and ordinances of Christ are preserved. But such receive only to their own condemnation, because they abuse the Sacrament, since they employ it without penitence and without faith.

"This Concordia is an interesting document, and shows beforehand," as Dorner says, "that a standpoint in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, such as afterwards became through Calvin the ruling one in the Reformed Churches, was acknowledged by Luther, himself, to be one with which brotherly communion was Christianly lawful." (I). It is however, a contradictory Formula. It first denies the local inclusion of the body of Christ in the bread, and then asserts that it is truly received in it by unbelievers as well as by believers. To such a Concord, of course, Switzerland could not consent, and all pains were taken to let the fact be known. A delegation waited on Bucer from Basel to protest. Eight days he laboured to satisfy them but in vain. Grynaeus told him plainly that he wrested the sense of Luther, in trying to bring it into harmony with the Helvetic Church. Then came new transactions in Switzerland, in which Bucer laboured still in vain to reconcile the Swiss to his construction of the Wittenberg Concordia. At last it was determined by the Swiss, to write to Luther himself on the subject, and get his sense, as it were, directly from his own mouth.

(I). Dorner, 1. Page 335.

SWISS LETTER TO LUTHER.

In this letter, (I) they reaffirmed their adherence to the old Zwinglian propositions, that Christ has departed from the world, is sitting at the right hand of God, and is not to be again brought down thence into the earthly state; and that the body of Christ cannot therefore be corporeally eaten nor can Christ Himself be present everywhere. They then declared that according to Bucer's interpretation, the new formula would not alter their old Confession, to which they wished to adhere; that the bodily ascension of Christ to Heaven, in consequence of which He is no longer carnally in the world, but remains in His Heavenly state would not be denied, and it would not be questioned that He is apprehended and received in the Lord's Supper by the believing heart. In conclusion, they asserted that "in the Sacrament, the main thing is God's gift, namely the body and blood of Christ, yea, the body which has been delivered to death for us, and the blood which has been shed on the Cross to wash away our sins." "We deny not that the body and blood of Christ are eaten and enjoyed, in the Supper, as the food of souls unto eternal life. But this we deny, that the body of Christ is eaten in itself corporeally or as flesh, or that He is everywhere present in His body in a corporal or natural way." (2). This letter was carried to Luther by Bucer himself.

LUTHER'S ANSWER TO THE SWISS LETTER. (3).

His answer came nine months afterwards, respectful and friendly, and strangely enough, acquiescing in their explanation and position. It is difficult to understand Luther's attitude at this time. He must have been aware that the Swiss Theologians were at variance with him on essential points, and yet he was willing to extend to them the hand of reconciliation and peace. We remember however the moderation and kindness with which he treated the Bohemian Brethren, in regard to their Sacramental Theory. We remember also his magnanimous attitude to the Swabian Syngramma, and we suggest that his bearing to the Swiss at this time, is to be explained by the fact that he recognised that in their case too, there was a positive assertion.

(1). Hospinian, II. page 150 Ebrard, II. page 386.
 (2). Koestlin, II. p. 173. Hospin. II. p. 150. Ebrard, II. p. 386.
 (3). do 175. do. 396.

of the reception of an objective Heavenly gift as the essential feature of the Sacrament. He recognised in the Letter of the Swiss, that they had advanced beyond the sterile confession of Zwingli in his middle period. In other words, Luther now distinguished between the so-called "Zwinglian" view, and the view of Calvin which was already in the air. Luther must have been aware that a deeper view of the sacramental presence was quietly striking its roots into the Protestant world, and mounting upwards into mature strength. For this was the actual fact. This deeper view was not confined to any one section of the Church, but comes before us as the spontaneous product of its general life. We find it widely active in the German Church under the banner of the Augsburg Confession. Its main representative here was Melanchthon, the author of this Confession. In the Helvetic Church, as we have seen, there was a parallel movement, that served to bring in gradually a richer development of the Zwinglian doctrine. The significance of the Lord's Supper, as a Commemoration, was still insisted on but attention was now turned more than at the beginning, to the idea of a real participation in Christ's life as the necessary condition and support of the other interest. The Unio Mystica was coming into its own. We have seen that Zwingli himself approximated to this in his Final Period, and we have also seen that Oekolampadius in the 1st Confession of Basel had come to the deeper view. The ground was prepared for Calvin. He found himself in a congenial atmosphere. We have seen his precursors in the Swabian Syngramma, the Tetrapolitan Confession, the Wittenberg Concordia and in Switzerland itself in the Pre-Calvin Confessions. (1).

(1). Nevin - The Mystical Presence. p. 81.

CHAPTER NINE - Pages 116 to 125.

CALVIN'S EARLY TEACHING ON THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Calvin's Early Life & Preparation.

The First Edition of the Institutes. (1536), & its Teaching
on the Lord's Supper.

Comparison of the First Edition of the Institutes with the
De Captivitate Babylonica.

Calvin's Relation to Zwingli, Bucer, & Oekolampadius.

Calvin's Early Teaching on the Lord's Supper.

John Calvin now brought this view independently from France.

Before we proceed to the formal discussion of his theory of the Lord's Supper, it will be necessary to take a brief glance at his personality and history. Calvin seemed destined to be a Mediator. By birth, he was connected with two nations. His father, Gerhard Calvin or Cauvin, Procureur Fiscal of the Lordship of Noyon in Picardy and Secretary of the diocese was French. His mother, Anna Franke of Cambray, was of German blood. He first saw the light on July 10th 1509. He was educated with the children of the noble family of Mommor, the most honourable in the district. It was with lasting gratitude that he remembered this period of his life, and he dedicated his first work, the Commentary on Seneca, to a Mommor, the Prelate of St. Eloi, with whom he had studied. Young Calvin, by his natural ability, soon surpassed his fellow students. In his twelfth year, his father, who was not rich, procured for him an appointment in the Chapelle de la Gesine, and sent him to the High School at Paris. Here he found Maturius Cordier, who grounded him in the Scholastic Theology. It is a noteworthy circumstance that his early training was Scholastic, not Humanist. This enabled him to understand and appreciate the essence of the Lutheran System of doctrine, and prepared him for his lifework - the definition and consolidation of the Reformed Theology. Having reached his eighteenth year, he now became acquainted for the first time with a Bible, and soon began to discover the errors of the Roman Catholic Church. At the suggestion of his father, he entered the University of Orleans, in order to study Law. But however diligently he devoted himself to this science, the voice of conscience urged him yet more strongly to the examination and understanding of the Scriptures. He was greatly assisted in this by Melchior Wolmar, who taught him Greek, and strengthened his still unsettled principles, so that he even began to proclaim his new convictions by preaching. To this Wolmar, he was in great measure

indebted for his conversion. It seems that in the case of Doumergue. Jean Calvin. vols. I and II.

Ebrard. Das Dogma vom heiligen Abendmahl. II.p.409.f.

Henry. Life of Calvin.I.p.21.f.

Bungener. Calvin, sa vie, son oeuvre, et ses écrits. (1862)

Erichson. Bibliographia Calviniana.

Penning. Life & Times of Calvin.

Walker. (Williston). John Calvin.

Calvin's Early Teaching on the Lord's Supper.

[John Calvin now brought this view independently from France.

Before we proceed to the formal discussion of his theory of the Lord's Supper, it will be necessary to take a brief glance at his personality and history. Calvin seemed destined to be a Mediator. By birth, he was connected with two nations. His father, Gerhard Calvin or Cauvin, Procureur Fiscal of the Lordship of Noyon in Picardy and Secretary of the diocese was French. His mother, Anna Franke of Cambray, was of German blood. He first saw the light on July 10th 1509. He was educated with the children of the noble family of Mommor, the most honourable in the district. It was with lasting gratitude that he remembered this period of his life, and he dedicated his first work, the Commentary on Seneca, to a Mommor, the Prelate of St. Eloi, with whom he had studied. Young Calvin, by his natural ability, soon surpassed his fellow students. In his twelfth year, his father, who was not rich, procured for him an appointment in the Chapelle de la Gesine, and sent him to the High School at Paris. Here he found Maturnius Cordier, who grounded him in the Scholastic Theology. It is a noteworthy circumstance that his early training was Scholastic, not Humanist. This enabled him to understand and appreciate the essence of the Lutheran System of doctrine, and prepared him for his lifework - the definition and consolidation of the Reformed Theology. Having reached his eighteenth year, he now became acquainted for the first time with a Bible, and soon began to discover the errors of the Roman Catholic Church. At the suggestion of his father, he entered the University of Orleans, in order to study Law. But however diligently he devoted himself to this science, the voice of conscience urged him yet more strongly to the examination and understanding of the Scriptures. He was greatly assisted in this by Melchior Wolmar, who taught him Greek, and strengthened his still unsettled principles, so that he even began to proclaim his new convictions by preaching. To this Wolmar, he was in great measure

indebted for his conversion. It seems that in the case of
 Doumergue. Jean Calvin. vols. I and II.

Ebrard. Das Dogma vom heiligen Abendmahl. II.p.409.f.

Henry. Life of Calvin.I.p.21.f.

Bungener. Calvin, sa vie, son oeuvre, et ses ecrits. (1862)

Erichson. Bibliographia Calviniana.

Penning. Life & Times of Calvin.

Walker. (Williston). John Calvin.

Calvin, this conversion was effected without a protracted struggle. (1). In his Preface to the Psalms, he relates that he was so fixed in Popish superstition, that it seemed difficult indeed, to free him from such a quagmire, when God overcame him by a sudden conversion, and subjected him to His will. His studies in jurisprudence were however by no means fruitless. We see the traces of the trained legal mind in the Premier Projet d' Organisation ecclésiastique à Genève of 1537, and the Ordonnances ecclésiastiques of 1541. These are both models of orderly arrangement.

By this time, the Reformed religion had spread in northern and central France through the influence of Luther's writings. In the south, Zwingli's doctrine became known. A bitter persecution followed, and now it was proved that Calvin was more a Reformer than a Jurist. Nicolas Cop, the newly elected Rector of the Sorbonne in Paris, was obliged, according to custom, to pronounce an oration on the day on which the Roman Catholics held the Feast of All Saints. Calvin prepared the speech, and spoke with great freedom on the pure Gospel, and on Justification by Faith. Cop read it, and immediately he and its author were compelled to flee. Calvin found shelter in the court of the Queen of Navarre, who spoke to the angry monarch, quieted the storm, and lessened the general irritation (2).

For some time, he led a wandering life, and we hear of him at Paris, Orleans and Strasbourg, where he met Bucer and Capito. At last he came to Noyon, where he sold his inheritance, in order to convey his sisters to Basel or Strasbourg. We hurry over these travels and experiences. But two points are important in connection with them. (3).

I. Calvin felt himself so much at home in Strasbourg and Basel, that he resolved to take up his residence in one of these two places. Later, when he was banished from Geneva, he returned to Strasbourg. He felt himself akin to Bucer, Oekolampadius and Capito. These were the men who preserved

(1) Lindsay, History of the Reformation. II.p.97.

Wernle, Die Bekehrung Calvins. p.84. ff.

Lang, Die Bekehrung. Johannis Calvins.

Doumergue. I.344. ff.

(2) do. 331. ff.

(3) Ebrard, II. 411.

the mean between Luther and Zwingli. This was Calvin's spiritual home, in the middle point, where the North to South line that connected Lutheranism and Zwinglianism crossed the East and West line that stretched between Germany and France.

II. A second circumstance is of great importance, that in his first residence at Basel, in the year 1536, he completed the First Edition of the Institutes. (1). He brought his system of doctrine from France as a finished product. It cannot be said that it was evolved under Lutheran or Zwinglian influence, for his residence in Basel or Strasbourg was too short for Oekolampadius or Bucer to have inspired his teaching.

Besides, Calvin himself assures us that he had already completed his whole system of doctrine in his 20th year, and that he never deviated in one point from it. We have thus in the 1st Edition of the Institutes a document of his own independent, original view. It was a work which was written, when he was neither under the influence of the Zwinglian Farel nor of the Lutheran theologians. "The Institutes of the Christian Religion is Calvin and Calvinism complete". (2).

Let us now see how it deals with the subject of the Lord's Supper.

"The other sacrament of the Christian Church is the bread sanctified in Christ's body, and the wine sanctified in His blood. We call it either the Lord's Supper or the Eucharist, because in it, we are fed spiritually by the kindness of God, and we on our part, give thanks for His goodness." (3).

This strikes the note for the discussion. In order that we may have a true conception of the sacrament, we must regard it as a Spiritual thing.

In this Holy Feast, God feeds not our bodies, but our souls.

"As we see the bread given us as a sign of Christ's body, we must endeavour to understand the following comparison. Thus, as the bread nourishes the life of the body, upholds and supports it, so the body of Christ is the food and support of our spiritual life

I. Opera. I. p. 232.

II. Doumergue. IV. p. i.

III. Opera. I. p. 236. Ebrard, Das Dogma vom heiligen Abendmahl.
II. p. 441.

Since the wine is the symbol of the blood, so we believe that Christ acts spiritually on our souls, as wine acts on our body"-(1)
 "But let us believe that the sacrament is spiritual, - a something whereby God will feed our souls, not our stomach; let us seek Christ, not so as to be seen and apprehended by the bodily senses, but to be recognised by His presence in our soul" (2).

Calvin makes his position clear in its relation to Luther and Zwingli. In one pregnant sentence, he defines where he stands in regard to the debated question of the "right hand of God".

"Christ having ascended with His own proper body into heaven, there sits at the right hand of the Father, that is, He rules in the might, power and glory of the Father." (3)

These words are very significant, and are prophetic of that office of mediation which Calvin so consistently fulfilled. For Zwingli, the session at the right hand of God" was a hindrance for the coming of Christ to us, although, let it be clearly understood, only for a local descent. Zwingli resisted the doctrine of Ubiquity, and the consequent bodily presence, and in his middle period, he was satisfied with this negative result. He lost sight there of the mystical union. He did not concern himself with the question how, without detriment to the "Session at the right hand of God", and without accepting ubiquity, we may have a real communion with Christ.

Calvin now takes up the matter in a positive way. He also believes that Christ is separated from us as regards His body, but he expounds the "session at the right hand of God", as a sharing in the omnipotence and majesty of God. What follows from that? "This kingdom", he says, "is bounded by no limits of space, and is circumscribed by no dimensions. It is extended according to His will". (nec ullis locorum spatiis limitatum nec ullis dimensionibus circumscriptum, quin Christus virtutem suam, ubicunque placuerit). (4).

-
- I. Opera. I.p. 238.
 - II. do. p. 240.
 - III. do. p. 246.
 - IV. do. p. 247.

"He exercises His dominion (virtutem) in heaven and on earth.

By this, He shows His presence in power and virtue. He is ever with His people. He lives in them, He upholds, strengthens, and defends them, and this no less manifestly, than if He were present in the body. (In iis vivat eos sustineat, confirmet, vegetet, conservet, non secus ac si corpore adesset). (1).

Here Calvin strives to raise himself above the antithesis in which Luther and Zwingli were entangled. For both, the chief question was, as to whether Christ's glorified body was, as regards its substance, circumscribed, or uncircumscribed. Both held the hypothesis that a real union of Christ with us can take place only if Christ's body is uncircumscribed. Zwingli, in his middle period, in order not to have to concede the uncircumscription of Christ's body, forsook or rather attenuated his original teaching of a mystical union, and was content with a mere presence of the spirit of Christ in us.

Luther's one thought was to retain the boon of the mystical union, and he could not recognise and reconcile this with the circumscription of Christ's body.

Where Calvin was original was, in his maintaining that the circumscription of the body does not exclude a real union with Christ. This was the great fundamental thought of his theory, in that he shows that the circumscription of the glorified body of Christ does no injury to the real mystical union with Him. Leibnitz considers that the reconciliation of the Confessions (Lutheran and Reformed) is found in the hypothesis of Calvin, that the substance of the body consists in its primitive power, active and passive, and that the immediate application of the power constitutes the presence of such substance, even without dimensions. He has also acknowledged that Calvin has so conceived of the idea of Corporeality, that he has succeeded in proving that the mystical union with Christ is not prevented by Christ's body being circumscribed. (2).

I. Opera. I.p. 247.

II. Pensées de Leibnitz. 2nd Edition. p. 106.

This is also Ebrard's opinion. "The permanent substance even of a human body is not the mass of chemical ingredients. It is the psychic virtue (Kraft) which lives in the organism. Much more then does a glorified body consist in this Dynamic energy or virtue (1)."

This is doubtless Calvin's conception of "body", and when he speaks of Christ exercising His power (virtus) where He pleases, he has this idea in mind. He does not regard Christ's body in a natural way like Luther, who was led by this to a doctrine of Ubiquity. He regards this body as pure energy or Kraft. If Zwingli's theory can be designated as 'historical', Luther's as 'wunderhaft', we might characterise Calvin's conception as 'Mystical' or more correctly as 'Dynamical'. (2).

On the other hand, Calvin makes it quite clear that he does not deny Christ's Ascension—His bodily separation from us, and the circumscription of that body. Christ has His glorified body in heaven. His body is not a diffused, invisible substance. His body is a formed, expressive, visible projection of His soul. But that does not prevent Him communicating Himself to us as power. Luther and Zwingli share the hypothesis, that if we are to enjoy a union with the glorified body of Christ, it must be local and dimensional, and that therefore, the body of Christ must come to us in a local and physical way. Luther teaches this. Zwingli, in order not to have to grant this, is led sometimes to deny the possibility of any such union.

Calvin teaches that Christ is in heaven, and we are on earth, but that in spite of this spatial separation, there is a real mystical union, namely a non-local, non-dimensional, supra-spatial, virtual union. With Luther, the participator is locally limited, and the body of Christ is extended or ubiquitous. With Calvin, Christ's body is circumscribed and locally in heaven, but the Mode of communion is

I. Ebrard. II.p. 414.

II. Schulz. Zur Lehre vom heiligen Abendmahl. p. 4.

superlocal. Christ's circumscribed body has the omnipotent power, without any local descent, to be really with us and in us. As Christ projects His soul in heaven, He projects it into each communicant, It is the same Psychic, Dynamic Substance which penetrates us, lives in us, and not merely penetrates our spirits, but forms a new focus, (Mittelpunkt), for our psychical - bodily life. (I), "In this way it is, that the body and blood of Christ are offered to us in the Sacrament; but not in the previous way referred to, i.e. there is no oral manducation." (Secundum hanc rationem corpus ^{et} sanguis Christi in sacramento nobis exhibetur; secundum priorem minime) (2).

Calvin thus substitutes for the outward communion, an inward communion. We do not receive Christ's body in a dimensional and local manner, but virtually, so that Christ lives in us, not merely with His spirit, but with the psychic energy (Kraft) of His whole divine-human person. It is this same kind of union we enjoy even without the sacrament. (Cpf. quin suis semper adsit). The body of Christ is therefore communicated to us, not as a natural substance but as Power or Energy (Kraft), as Virtus, truly and effectively not naturally (vere and efficaciter non naturaliter). (2) "For the sake of clearness, I say that His body is truly and really, but not naturally offered to us, and this I say, to indicate that it is not the actual body that is given to us, but all the benefits which Christ by His body, has procured for us. This is the presence of the body which the intention of the Sacrament requires (quam sacramenti ratio postulat)." (2) That Calvin reckons as these benefits not only the atonement won for us through Christ's death, but also the life of Christ in us, is quite clear from the above quotation. His position is thus quite distinct from Luther's. Indeed the opposition to Luther is clear and plain.

- I. Ebrard, II. page 416.
- II. Opera, I. page 247.

Comparison of the De Captivitate Babylonica (1520) and the
Institutes of 1536.

Doumergue (I) has drawn an instructive parallel between the teaching of Calvin in the Institutes of 1536 and that of Luther in the De Captivitate Babylonica of 1520. Luther gave there his classic comparison in exposition of Consubstantiation. "Why should Christ not be able to include His body under the substance of the bread, as well as within the accidents? Fire and iron - two substances are so mingled in Red-hot iron, that each part of it is both iron and fire. Why may not the glorious body of Christ much more be in every part of the substance of the bread?" (II.) Thus we have 1st, Consu**st**antiation, 2nd, the Glorious Body, and 3rd, the identification of the bread and the body.

"If I cannot understand how the bread can be the body of Christ, I shall bring my understanding into captivity to the obedience of Christ, and firmly believe in simple adherence to His words, not only that the body of Christ is in the bread, but that the bread is the body of Christ" (3). and Luther insists, "If philosophy does not understand these things, the Holy Spirit is greater than Aristotle." (3). Now Calvin, in the 1st Edition of the Institutes, formally repels the Three points of the Lutheran doctrine.

1st, The flesh of Christ is not on earth. "At the resurrection, He resumed it, and carried it to heaven." and if the presence of Christ is "true and efficacious", it is none the less, "altogether spiritual." "Let us think first, that the sacrament is a spiritual thing. Let us be satisfied then, to obtain it spiritually." (4).

2nd, In the Supper, there can be no question of the Glorious body of which Luther speaks. "Others argue more subtly that what is offered (exhibetur) in the sacrament is the glorious and immortal body. But I ask you what body the Lord gave to His disciples the night before He suffered. Foolish one, what do you ask from the power of God, that He should make the bread to be at the same time flesh, and not flesh? (5)."

- I. Doumergue. II.p. 569.
- II. Wace & Buchheim. p. 158.
- III. do. p. 160.
- IV. Opera. I. p. 241.
- V. Opera. I. p. 240. p.245.

3rd, Calvin protests directly against those who hold that the bread is the body. (1).

"Cry out as you please, 'This is the body and the blood', I hold on the contrary, that it is the Testament in the body and the blood. (2)." It is possible of course, that Calvin, in combatting ideas which were more or less common to the Catholics and Luther, did not have Luther specially in mind. He has none the less emphatically contradicted him. (3).

It is equally false to say that Calvin was originally a 'Zwinglian' in the popular sense. We find rather in him an organic development of Zwingli's teaching. To Calvin, Bread and Wine are not merely a Pledge that Christ has died for us. To him, the act of the sacrament is an act wherein Christ communicates to us the full power of His personality with all the resulting benefits of this living union. From the body of Christ, there streams a power, over and above the ordinary influence of the Holy Spirit, of which, in the Supper, believers are recipients. The body of Christ is not now present anywhere on earth as substance, i.e. as natural substance, but it is present as power, as "virtus". In the Eucharist Christ is present with "omnia beneficia." On this account, the Words of Institution do not speak of the body of Christ apart from His benefits, or of the benefits apart from the body and blood, whereby they are procured. Bread and Wine are to him not bare signs. He rejects the opinion that the bread is only a sign or figure of the body, just as strongly as he refuses to believe that the body is under the bread (alii signum tantum and figuram corporis proponi.) Bread and Wine are not to him bare Signs, but Symbols, and not merely, as Zwingli sometimes says, symbols of the death of Christ, but also and preeminently, symbols of the living union with Christ. The act of the Holy Supper is an act of real, true reception of Christ. Calvin had like Zwingli, a distrust of all the refinements and subtleties of Scholasticism, and therefore he could not accept Luther's doctrine of Ubiquity. He had like Luther, a full and rich interest in the real presence of Christ, and therefore he could not accept the elements as mere signs. He stands in this, his first deliverance, on the Lord's Supper, in a mediating position - not because, like Bucer. (4).

Calvin's Relation to Zwingli, Bucer and Oekolampadius.

he was for ever seeking a via media, a form of words to which both parties could give adherence, but by virtue of his deeper insight into the essentials of sacramental teaching. He stands in the middle, not in virtue of any mere deft manipulation of theological terms, but because his mind and heart demanded an interpretation of the Supper, purified from mediaeval accretions, while conserving every real religious interest. (1).

This is well shewn in the 1st Edition of the Institutes. This work contains many other valuable side-lights on his sacramental theory, but as these will be more fully revealed in his later works, we have contented ourselves here with the discussion of his original relation to the theories of Luther and Zwingli.

This teaching of Calvin's in 1536, has many points of resemblance with the testimony of Oekolampadius after his intercourse with Melanchthon at Marburg, and his subsequent correspondence with him. It was expressed by Oekolampadius in the 1st Confession of Basel (1534) (2). Bucer held somewhat similar views. What Calvin did, was to provide a more secure foundation. He did this by furnishing a deeper conception of corporeality, and of the 'session at the right hand of God'. He also furnished a more profound exegesis, in that he did not put so much stress on the actual words of the institution, but regarded the transaction of the Lord's Supper as the important thing, and emphasised the symbolical nature of it. He went beyond the assertion of the symbolical meaning of the bread and wine as food, to the assertion, that in the Supper, there takes place an analogous nourishment of the new man through Christ, the Living Bread. It is remarkable, as Ebrard has pointed out, how Bucer, Melanchthon, Haner, Brenz and Calvin, all came independently to this teaching of a real, but Central enjoyment of Christ in the Holy Supper. (3).

1. Prof. Watt Hastings Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics.
 11. Thesis. p. 111.
 111. Ebrard. 11. p. 418.

CHAPTER....TEN. - PAGES 126 to 140.

CALVIN'S FIRST RESIDENCE in GENEVA. - TEACHING ON THE LORD'S
SUPPER.

Calvin in Geneva.

Calvin at the Disputation at Lausanne.

The TEN Theses of Lausanne and their Teaching on the Lord's Supper.

Calvin at the Bern Synod... The Lord's Supper.

The Articles of 1537, and their Teaching on the Lord's Supper.

The Catechism of 1537, and its Teaching on the Lord's Supper.

The Confession of 1537, and its Teaching on the Lord's Supper.

The Synod of Lausanne. Sept. 1537.

The Confessio de Eucharistia.

The Importance of this Confession.

The New State of parties in 1537.

Calvin's Expulsion from Geneva.

CHAPTER 10.

Calvin's 1st Residence in Geneva.

We have followed Calvin in the first period of his life, where he developed his own individual doctrine of the Supper quite independently. With his departure from France, (1536) in his 27th year, there begins a second period. He had made up his mind, as we have seen, to reside in Basel or Strasbourg as a private student, but now, almost against his will, his path was diverted to Geneva, which was then under the influence of the Zurich teaching. It was Farel who captivated him with strong and weighty words. The question now arises whether Calvin was intellectually and spiritually influenced by Farel. Calvin came to Geneva in August in 1536. His installation into office was marked by no flourish of trumpets. (1) Very soon, however, an opportunity arose for him to display his powers. He accompanied Farel to a Disputation at Lausanne on 1st October, when the ten theses prepared by Farel, were the basis of discussion. (2). Calvin did not speak till Tuesday, 5th October. The Real Presence of Christ in the Supper was then the subject of debate. A Roman Catholic representative had read a long treatise, laboriously prepared, in which he reproached the Reformed preachers for despising the ancient and holy teachers. Then Calvin arose, and with his terrible irony and astonishing learning, he affirmed that the Catholics "do not hold them (The Fathers) in so great honour as we, and will not condescend to employ their time in reading their writings." He next proceeded to quote from memory and to explain the opinions of Tertullian, Chrysostom, Augustine, and concluded his quotation with the words, "Everyone can easily perceive how rashly you affirm the ancient Fathers are against us. You have not seen the covers, far less the leaves of their books." (2) As regards the Holy Supper, he summed up his views as follows. "It is a spiritual communion; by which, 'en vertu and en efficace,' He makes us partakers of all that we can receive of grace in His body and His Blood.

(1) Gautier - Histoire de Geneve, ll. page 447. ff.

(2) Doumergue ll. page 214.

It is all spiritual, i.e., by the bond (lien) of His Spirit." (I) Doumergue relates that Calvin's words created the most profound sensation. Farel voiced immediately the feelings of the majority of the Assembly and cried, "How wise and ^{and great} good is God! He has had mercy on his poor flock, wandering in the desert, and has restored it to the sheepfold." Many conversions were made, and the ecclesiastical consequences of the theological contest soon followed. Calvin was credited with having accomplished a great work. We find him again, Oct. 16, 1536, at the Bern Synod, where the subject of discussion was the Wittenberg Concordia. Bucer and Capito recommended it warmly to the Swiss, but the Synod considered it ambiguous. One of the delegates however observed that there ought to be no schism in the churches. "If that happens," he said, "The Church is doomed." We do not know exactly who the delegate was but we think it highly possible, as Doumergue suggests, that it would be Calvin, "Le Grand Conciliateur des Protestants". (2). It was at Geneva however, that Calvin was to do his great work. From the end of 1536, he was fully recognised as the colleague of Farel. On 24th May 1536, we read, "The question arose of the Edicts necessary to be drawn up for the unity of the state." (3). This was done on 10th Nov. 1536.

These Articles are very informative for the subject of this thesis, as they reveal the important place which the Lord's Supper occupied in Calvin's idea of church government and discipline.

Prof. Choisy remarks that "Calvin, the author of these Articles, demands in them, a share in the prerogatives of the State which will be very unwillingly granted. As in other Reformed Swiss cantons, the magistrate has, up till now, had full authority over ecclesiastical matters. He has served himself heir to the powers of the dethroned bishop, and has held the prerogative of Excommunication. It is then very improbable that he will divest himself of such privileges." (4).

I. Doumergue. II. p. 215f.

II. do. p. 217

III. Registres du Conseil..vol. 30. M.S.S. Geneva, Consistory.

IV. Choisy. La Théocratie à Genève. p 16-18.

Teaching on the Lord's Supper.

The Articles of 1537 begin thus.

"It is certain that a church cannot be said to be well regulated, unless the Supper of our Lord is frequently celebrated."

The propositions for regulating the matter follow.

"It would be very desirable that the communion of the Holy Supper should be celebrated at least every Sunday, when the church is assembled in congregation, in view of the great comfort that believers receive from it, and the fruit which proceeds from it in every way, and indeed, it was not instituted by Jesus, as a commemorative feast to be celebrated once or twice a year, but for frequent exercise of our faith and love. This custom was the practice of the ancient church until the abominable custom of masses was introduced.... Now it would be difficult to demolish with one stroke, a custom so firmly established ... For the infirmity of the people is such, that there is the danger, that this sacred, so excellent mystery would come to be despised, if it were celebrated too often ... Having regard to that, it has seemed well to us... that this Holy Supper should be celebrated once a month. (1)

The Articles then deal with the question as to who shall participate in the Holy Supper, and this raises the problem of discipline and excommunication.

"But the 1st rule to be observed with the greatest care is this, that the Holy Feast be not soiled and contaminated by people taking part in it, who are of manifestly wicked and evil character. For in the profanation of His sacrament, our Lord is greatly dishonoured. We must take care that the pollution that so dishonours God, should not be carelessly passed over. It is necessary that those who are entrusted with the discipline of the church, should see that those who come to the communion, are approved members of Jesus Christ... and that those who do not repent, after being admonished, should be cut off from the Holy Communion of the Church." (1)

1. Herminjard. IV. p. 154 Doumergue. II. p. 220.
L'adoption de la Réforme par le peuple de Genève (Geneva 1923)

The Holy Supper becomes thus the key stone of the arch of Discipline. Calvin has been criticized for the rigour of his disciplinary acts, but as Doumergue has pointed out, "that rigour and that discipline were already practised in Switzerland, long before his time." What is original in Calvin?" says Doumergue, "is the spirit of pious austerity which he poured into the old form." (1)

Above all, we have to remember that his most precious interest was "to preserve the Genevan theocracy, and to defend the Holy Table from all defilement and abuse." (2)

The Articles of 1537 deal with three other subjects, Singing; Marriage; and the Instruction of Children in religion." It is very necessary in order to preserve the people in purity of doctrine, that the children from their early years, should be instructed to give a reason for their faith." (3) "To attain this result, the ministers present a Catechism." (3)

The Catechism of 1537.

"This Catechism is, in view of its brevity and clearness, the spring, from whence we can most easily imbibe a knowledge of this great religious system. It is, so to speak, an epitome of Calvinism." (4)

As a resumé of the Institutes, the Catechism does not present any new teaching on the Lord's Supper. (5).

The section "De la Cène du Seigneur" is contained in one column of vol. XXII .p.70. of the Corp.Ref. It is a brief statement of essential points. "The promise which is added (adjoustée) to the mystery of the Supper declares plainly for what end it is instituted. It confirms to us the fact that the body of our Lord was once given for us in such a way (tellement,) that it is now ours, and will be ours eternally, and that His blood once shed for us, will always be ours. The signs are the bread and the wine, under which the Lord Presents to us the true communion of His Body and His Blood, but spiritually" (6)

We have already noted almost identical words in the Institutes of ~~IV--Rilliet & Dufour. Le Catéchisme~~ 536.

1 Doumergue II.226.

français p.43.

II Choisy..p.16.

V Doumergue . II.p.230.

VI Corp. Ref. XXII p.70

III Herminjard IV.p.158

The Holy Supper becomes thus the key stone of the arch of Discipline. Calvin has been criticized for the rigour of his disciplinary acts, but as Doumergue has pointed out, "that rigour and that discipline were already practised in Switzerland, long before his time." What is original in Calvin?" says Doumergue, "is the spirit of pious austerity which he poured into the old form." (1)

Above all, we have to remember that his most precious interest was "to preserve the Genevan theocracy, and to defend the Holy Table from all defilement and abuse." (2)

The Articles of 1537 deal with three other subjects, Singing; Marriage; and the Instruction of Children in religion." It is very necessary in order to preserve the people in purity of doctrine, that the children from their early years, should be instructed to give a reason for their faith." (3) "To attain this result, the ministers present a Catechism." (3)

The Catechism of 1537.

"This Catechism is, in view of its brevity and clearness, the spring, from whence we can most easily imbibe a knowledge of this great religious system. It is, so to speak, an epitome of Calvinism." (4)

As a resumé of the Institutes, the Catechism does not present any new teaching on the Lord's Supper. (5).

The section "De la Cène du Seigneur" is contained in one column of vol. XXII .p.70. of the Corp.Ref. It is a brief statement of essential points. "The promise which is added (adjoustée) to the mystery of the Supper declares plainly for what end it is instituted. It confirms to us the fact that the body of our Lord was once given for us in such a way (tellement,) that it is now ours, and will be ours eternally, and that His blood once shed for us, will always be ours. The signs are the bread and the wine, under which the Lord Presents to us the true communion of His Body and His Blood, but spiritually" (6)

We have already noted almost identical words in the Institutes of ~~IV--Rilliet & Dufour. Le Catéch~~ 536.

1 Doumergue 11.226.

11 Choisy..p.16.

111 Herminjard 1V.p.158

français p.43.

V Doumergue . 11.p.230.

VI Corp. Ref. XXII p.70

The Catechism now refers to Luther's doctrine. "That which pertains to spiritual things, does not require an enclosed presence, either of the body (chair) under the bread, or of the blood under the wine, for although (combienque) Christ, having ascended into heaven, has departed from the earth on which we are still pilgrims, no distance can prevent His virtue (virtus) from being communicated to us, Of this truth He has given us a clear and certain proof (enseignement) that we may be assured that Christ, with His riches, is present to us, not less really than if He were actually before our eyes, to be touched with our hands" (1)

Here we have Calvin's 'dynamical' view again set forth. He is still all against a bodily presence. Christ's 'virtue' is the all important thing. This 'Virtue' has a further property. "And not only does this great 'virtue' assure our spirits of their immortality, it also renders our flesh certain of the same, for it is vivified by His immortal flesh and shares in some manner in its immortality." This is a thought of Luther which he in later days abandoned. It is omitted in the Kurzes Bekenntnis. Calvin here propounds it, but like Luther, he provides no explanation. We encounter it frequently, however, in his later works.

In the next paragraph, he speaks of the connection between the signs and the things they signify. "Moreover, under bread and wine are represented the body and blood, in order that we may learn not only that they are ours, but that they are ours for life and nourishment. Thus, when we see the bread, sanctified in the body of Christ, we must conceive the similitude, that as the bread nourishes, sustains, and preserved the life of the body, so the body of Christ is the food and protection of our spiritual life. When the wine is presented to us as a sign of the blood, we have likewise to think that such benefits as it confers on the body, we receive spiritually in the blood of Christ." This is the utmost meaning that Calvin will grant to the signs.

(1) Le Cat. francais. - Rilliet & Dufour page 43
Corp. Ref. XXII. page 70. f.

He speaks of them sometimes as Instruments, but to him, the bond (lien) between the believer and Christ, was the Holy Spirit. He warns against a too exalted view of the signs, but he also guards against their degradation and despising. In a final paragraph, he speaks of the Supper as an incitement to thanksgiving and mutual love and charity. "Now the mystery, while it is a proof (enseignement) of the divine largesse, ought to exhort us to be grateful for such manifest beneficence. We ought to exalt it and to celebrate it with thanksgiving. And further, let us be so united one to another, as the members of one and the same body are bound together. For no goad can be so sharp and pointed to incite us to mutual charity as the example of Christ. Christ in giving Himself to us, exhorts us to give and spend ourselves for others. Christ in making Himself common to all, makes us also one in Him. "Here Calvin touches on the significance of the Lord's Supper as, what Wernle (1) designates a "Gemeinschaftzeichen," a "Community token". Seeberg (2), in the latest edition of his work, relates this to Luther's earlier teaching. Wernle is of opinion that here Calvin approaches nearer to Zwingli than to Luther, in his "Mahnung zur Bruderliebe" (Exhortation to Brotherhood). (1).

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH of 1537.

The Catechism had in view the children and the future generations, but the Reformers were also concerned with the present generation, and they demanded that there should be a careful reorganisation of the Church. This was an important and delicate question, as to "those who should be received as members, and those who ought to be rejected."

The Catechism was thus followed by another document, entitled, "Confession of Faith which all citizens and inhabitants of Geneva and subjects of the country ought to swear that they will keep and hold." (3) It has always been a debated question what part, if any, Calvin took in the production of this Confession.

(1) Wernle - page 108.

(2) Seeberg. IV. Vol. 2 page 608.

(3) Heyer, Eglise de Genève. page 253.

Rilliet (I) is of opinion that Calvin was not its sole author. Heyer regards it as a joint production of Calvin and Farel. Doumergue has made a critical comparison of the vocabularies of Calvin and Farel, and holds that its authorship is still an open question. "Adhuc sub iudice lis est." (2). Whatever be its origin, we have in this document, the formulation of a great principle, that the Calvinist Church is founded on the individual confession of Faith. This again is related to Calvin's real and genuine anxiety to preserve the purity of the Lord's Table." This preoccupation tormented us cruelly every time it was necessary to dispense the Lord's Supper. All were willing to partake of it, although the faith of the greater number was unknown to us, or more frequently suspect. In consequence, the unfortunate were fed on the anger of God, instead of being nourished on His life. That is why we have not found any other means of appeasing our conscience, than by demanding that those who wish to be admitted to this sacred and spiritual feast, should be enabled by a declaration of faith under the banner of Jesus Christ." (3).

On the subject of the Lord's Supper, this Confession contains significant words which reveal that Calvin was already influencing the doctrine of the Genevan Church.

It shews a distinct advance on the teaching of Zwingli during his middle period. "The Supper of the Lord", says Article 16, (4) "Is a sign by which, under the bread and wine, He represents to us the true spiritual communion which we have in His body and blood. And we acknowledge that according to His ordinance, it is to be distributed in the congregation of believers, in order that those who wish to have Jesus for their Life, may be participators of Him (afin que tous ceulx qui veulent avoir Jesus pour leur vie, en soyent participans)". (4).

I. Rilliet. Preface to Catechism.

II. Doumergue. II. p. 239.

III. Rilliet. p. 132. Opera. V.p. 319.

IV. L'Eglise de Geneve. par Heyer. p. 257, Ebrard. II. p. 425. Montet - Dogmatique Chretienne. (1903) p. 69.

We see that the main tendency is "Zwinglian". Bread and Wine are still Signs, and not Signa Exhibitiva, as with Calvin, but Signa Representiva, as with Zwingli. They make the truth clear to the thoughts. But it shows a Calvinistic influence in this, that the truth which the signs represent, and symbolically display, are not merely the truth that Christ died for us, but preeminently, that we are in real spiritual communion with Him, and have Him for our Life.

CONFESSIO FIDEI DE EUCHARISTIA.

The infant church of Geneva (l'église toute jeunette et encore trop tendre) (1). was very soon embroiled in doctrinal controversies. Peter Caroli, the first pastor of Lausanne raised the charge of Arianism against Farel and Calvin at a Synod in Lausanne (May 1537), because they avoided in their Confession the metaphysical terms, Trinity and Person, and because they refused, at Caroli's dictation, to sign the Athanasian Creed with its damnatory clauses.

A Synod was held in Sept. 1537 at Bern in connection with this charge. This Synod was attended by Bucer, Capito, Viret, Farel and Calvin. Here they presented the Confessio Fidei de Eucharistia, a document of great importance for the subject of this thesis. (2). This Confession shews a remarkable development on the teaching of the former Confession, and reveals that in the space of twelve months, Calvin had had a marked influence on Farel in his conception of the Lord's Supper.

We shall now examine this work more closely.

It begins with significant words. "The spiritual life which Christ bestows upon us, consists not merely in this, that He vivifies us by His Spirit, but that by the power of His Spirit also, He makes us to partake of His life-giving flesh (carnis suae vivificae), by which participation, we are fed unto everlasting life."

-
- I. Doumergue. II. p. 251.
 II. Hundeshagen. Die Conflictte des Zwinglianismus, Lutherthums, and Calvinismus in der Bern, Kirche. p. 79.
 Henry. Appendix. I. and Doumergue. II. p. 267. Ebrard. II. p. 426. passim.

In this introduction, there is no special reference to the Lord's Supper, but to that perpetual, living union of the Christian with Christ, which is commonly designated the Mystical Union. The Mystical Union is referred to, when it is said that "Christ feeds us for our everlasting life." Christ feeds our souls to new life, as earthly food nourishes the natural body. Calvin thinks of the 'State of Faith', as a new life, as the existence of a new creature in us. An idea, of which we find traces in ZWINGLI, is here found in richly developed form.

In the Institutes, Book III, sections 18 and 19, Calvin has clearly stated, that the imputation of the merit of the death of Christ does not rest on an abstract juridicial act, but on a real, living union with Christ. Christ has won our atonement, and it is imparted to us, in that He is born again in us, i.e., through the presence of a new life in us. But in these words of the Confession, the nature of this mystical union is more clearly defined on two sides. The Lutheran theologians defined this Mystical union as a mere taking part in the Spirit of Christ, or merely in His Divine nature. They affirmed a communion with the Humanity, and the glorified body of Christ, only during the moment of partaking of the Supper. This Confession takes a deeper view of the mystical union. It is free from that dualism which speaks of a continuous, spiritual communion, and a momentary, bodily communion. It gives a higher conception both of the general, continuous, mystical union, and of the communion with Christ in the act of the Supper. It regards it as a communion with Christ, according to His Humanity, and it also regards it, not as Outward, but Inward. It thus defines that general, mystical union on Two sides. (1).

On the one side, it consists, not only in this, that He vivifies us by His Spirit, but He makes us partakers of His life-giving flesh. On the other side, He makes us partakers of His flesh by the power of His Spirit. (Non in eo duntaxat sita est. quod spiritu suo nos vivificet, sed quod etiam suae vivificae carnis nos facit participes carnis suae vivificae spiritus sui virtute nos facit participes). The Holy Spirit alone does not enter into us, while

1. Ebrard 11. p. 427. passim. and Henry. 1. Appendix.

Christ remains outside us. Nor does Christ enter into us without the agency of His Holy Spirit. The union with Christ is a real union. He communicates His whole being to us with all His spiritual and psychical powers, and penetrates with His sanctifying influences our whole being, spirit, soul and body. But it is an inner union. The body of Christ, as physical substance, is not bound with the substance of our body, in this way communicating Christ's spiritual and psychical power to us. But the Holy Spirit, who has made Christ to be born in us, perfects continually this further appropriation of Christ, i.e. He brings, - not indirectly through the illumination of our thoughts, but directly through His divine power, Christ really into us. The act of union of Christ with us, is thus not an act of local descent, but an almighty act which is outside all categories of space, and can only be grasped under the category of Eternity. It is not a question of mechanical commingling, but of organic birth and growth. The divine - human power of Christ enters into the centre of our spiritual and psychical life (not into our thoughts, and still less into our bodies). In this way we are united with the whole Christ. Calvin always thinks of the life, as the true centre of man. So long as one does not rise to the idea of this life, as the union of Spirituality and Corporeality; so long as one regards the true essence of Man either spiritually as his thought world, or materially, as his body, so long will one fail to understand Calvin. (1).

Both elements, the Reality and Centrality of the mystical union, or, as Calvin expresses it, the communion of believers with Christ, are now thoroughly developed.

"When therefore, we speak of the communion which believers have with Christ, we mean that they communicate with His flesh and blood, not less than with His Spirit, so as to possess thus the whole Christ."

This is said to be clearly according to Scripture, and it is added, "Nor is it a small or common thing that the Apostle teaches, when he asserts, that we are flesh of Christ's flesh and bone of His bones, but He so designates the admirable mystery of our communion with His body, which no one may adequately describe in words." (2).

(1) Ebrard, II. p. 428.

(2) Henry, Appendix. I

This is a clear statement of the reality of the communion of the whole man with the whole Christ.

There is no hesitation nor equivocation here. The Mystical Union receives complete expression.

All this, it is next said, requires no local presence.

"For the efficacy of His Spirit is not so limited by any bounds, but that He can truly join into one, things that are locally disjoined. We acknowledge accordingly, that His Spirit is the Bond of our participation in Him."

That is not to say that the Spirit simply flows here from Christ in an outward way, leaving His proper Life behind, but so, "that He feeds us truly with the substance of the Lord's flesh and blood unto ^mortality, and vivifies us by their participation." (1) Here we see quite clearly that when Calvin, in the 1st Edit. of the Institutes, denied that we receive the substance of the body of Christ, he was using the word in the sense of material substance. Here he maintains the receiving of the real substance of the body of Christ, taking the word Substance in the deeper sense. The real sense in which he understood the word has been made clear from what he has already said. To him, the substantial essence of the Glorified body consists in Power. (Virtus). One also sees, that when Calvin names the Holy Ghost as the agent Who effects the union between the believer and Christ, he does not mean that the Holy Ghost increases our subjective faith, and thereby increases and promotes our spiritual and moral harmony with Christ. He teaches quite plainly that the Holy Ghost, through a wonderful act of His everlasting and almighty power, unites us really with the objective Christ, and implants Him as a vital power in us. He says that this is a mystery which no human tongue can explain. After the Confession has spoken of the continuous union which begins with the new birth, it next speaks of the connection of the Holy Supper to this continuous union.

" This communion of His flesh and blood, Christ offers and presents in His Holy Supper under the symbols of bread and wine,

(1) Henry - Appendix I.

to all who rightly celebrate it! Here the objective force of the sacrament is recognised in full. The Holy Supper is an act in which Christ 'offers and presents' that communion.

It is thus 1stly, not merely a Commemoration of the death of Christ for us, nor of the life of Christ in us.

It is 2ndly, not merely a Pledge that Christ has died for us.

But 3rdly, it is an act in which there is a real Renewing and Promoting of that continuous living union. It is a real act on the part of Christ. (1)

Along with the outward service, proceeds an inward divine mystery, of which the outward is to be regarded as a symbol and pledge. It is not the bread that brings Christ or contains Him. It is Christ Himself, Who through His Holy Spirit, gives Himself to us. Bread and wine are symbols. That is to say, bread and wine show that Christ is the food of the new man. But in the Holy Supper, they are also pledges, for Christ gives Himself under the symbols of the bread and wine. (sub panis et vini symbolis).

The previous assertion of the inwardness of the communion prevents us understanding the 'Sub' in the Lutheran sense of a local presence, and the 'offers and presents' makes this also clear.

About the Conditions for the receiving of Christ, the Confession is silent. The debated point about the partaking of it by unbelievers is avoided. A better solution is offered, in that the ambiguous 'unworthy' is replaced by a new expression- "Who celebrate it in the right way."

When the Confession uses the words, 'To celebrate it in the right way', it makes Two statements.

1st, it asserts that the communion does not depend on the strength of our subjective faith, but that everyone, however weak be his faith, partakes of the sacrament, and receives Christ, when he communicates according to the instruction and institution of Christ.

2nd, it asserts that frivolous mockers, who do not celebrate the sacrament in the right way (juxta legitimum institutum) do not receive Christ.

This Confession is exceedingly important. It was presented to a Synod of the Helvetic Church (Sept. 1537), fully alive on all sides to the bearing and force of its several positions, and by no means disposed to fall blindly into Luther's arms. Megander had great influence in Bern, and just at this time

(1)- Ebrard. 11. p. 431.

no small amount of prejudice was roused by the negotiations connected with the Wittenberg Concord. Bucer and Capito found it necessary to attend the Synod in their own defence. The subject led to great discussion. Such, however was the prevailing tendency, that in the end, the scale turned even in Bern in favour of Bucer's view. Megander felt himself defeated. He had written a Catechism, in which the Lord's Supper was said to be a mere Memorial of Christ's death. This, the Synod ordered to be changed, and another section, composed by Bucer, was substituted for this part. "The Epidemic of Bucerism" it was said by Megander and his friends, "spread daily more and more" (1) The Genevan Divines stood openly of course, on the same ground. Bucer and Capito subscribed their Eucharistic Confession, and it became, in fact, an official act of union between the Strasbourgers and the Swiss.

The authorship of this Confession has been a matter of debate, it was presented by Farel, Viret, and Calvin. We do not claim that Calvin was solely and entirely responsible for its production. From our knowledge however of his subsequent teaching, we can confidently assert that it expressed his views. In twelve years, (1525-1537), the state of the Zwinglian and the Lutheran parties had greatly changed. In 1525, Zwingli did not plainly deny the Mystical union in the Lord's Supper, He only resisted the outward communication which Luther maintained. He allowed himself to be led into a onesided emphasising of the relation of the Sacrament to the death of Christ. In 1525, Luther would not have been satisfied with a mere confession of a Mystic Union. Founding on his exegesis, he demanded an acceptance of the local presence of Christ in the bread, and of the oral manducation. Now at the September Synod, (1537), twelve years later, the

(1); Hundeshagen. page 91.

NEW STATE OF PARTIES IN 1537.

names 'Lutheran' and 'Zwinglian' had quite a different meaning. The so called 'Zwinglianism' of Megander and his colleagues denoted a denial of the Mystical Union with Christ. It was thus possible for Calvin who was a "Zwinglian" in the older sense, to come forward as an opponent of the new "Zwinglianism" of Megander. This is very important for the proper understanding of Calvin's relation to the Zwinglian Doctrine. When we understand the connection of the older with the newer "Zwinglianism", we recognise why Calvin was at that time reckoned as an opponent of Zwingli, yet afterwards was held by the Reformed Church to be akin to him in doctrine. Calvin was akin to Zwingli in his more positive periods. "The original 'Zwinglianism' of Zwingli," says Ebrard, "stands in the same relationship to the 'Zwinglianism' propounded at the September Synod, as the original Jewish Christianity stood to the later Ebionitism". (1) Megander and his associates were like Westphal and his followers in later times. Westphal was accused by Calvin of "Lutheran idolatry", and Megander and his school worshipped Zwingli in the same blind way, and refused to advance beyond what they considered to be his clear and definite teaching. But at the September Synod, (1537) the word "Lutheran", had also a different signification. All who went beyond the mere relating of the Sacrament to the death of Christ, and who accepted the Mystical Union, were now regarded as Lutheran. Calvin was thus reckoned as a Lutheran in Switzerland at this time. Very soon he was accepted in Germany also as a Lutheran. (1) Ebrard contrasts the relative position of the parties in 1525 and 1537 by the following table.

| | 1525 | 1537. |
|--|--------------|---|
| The Lord's Supper related to the Death of Christ | } Zwinglian. | Zwinglian |
| Central Living Union - - - - | | Developed by Calvin } Lutheran. Luther |
| Outward (peripherische)- - - Living Union. | | |
| | In Germ. | |
| | Lutheran | |

1 Ebrard, , 11, 433.

CALVIN'S EXPULSION FROM GENEVA.

The Articles, the Catechism, and the Confession of Faith were the measures taken by Farel and Calvin to reform the manners and morals of the city of Geneva, and to establish a theocracy according to the teaching of the Old Testament. (1). The Genevans had taken Moses for their guide (2). Prof. Choisy considers that all would have been well, had they found a broader basis. They failed in that they had regard only to the Old Testament, and paid insufficient heed to the new law of love and liberty in Christ. (3). According to the same authority, Calvin claimed too great powers for the Consistory, and Geneva was not yet ready to accept his lofty moral code. (4). The citizens submitted, but only temporarily to the demands of the Reformers. Many of the most influential people had never sworn to the Confession and the impossibility of enforcing the Law, brought the Church into contempt. It is not the purpose of this thesis to detail the events which led to the expulsion of the Reformers from Geneva. It is sufficient to relate that the sentence of banishment was pronounced on May 26th, 1538.

I. Heyer. p. 4.

II. L'adoption de la Réforme par le peuple de Genève. p.41 par Borgeaud.

III. Lectures (Geneva) July 1925.

IV. La Théocratie à Genève. p. 9-19.

CALVIN in STRASBOURGSeptember 1538.

Teaching on the Lord's Supper.

Calvin's Relation to the Church of the AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

Melanchthon's VARIATA (1540) of the Augsburg Confession.

Calvin's Tract DE COENA.

Evaluation of the Tract.

Second Edition of the Institutes (1539); The French Translation(1541) and the Second Catechism (1541) Their Teaching on the Lord's Supper. Summing up of Calvin's Strasbourg Teaching on the Lord's Supper

Farel now returned to his former congregation in Neufchatel, while Calvin repaired to Strasbourg in September 1538. He was received with open arms by Bucer & Capito, and was appointed Professor of Theology at a moderate salary. He gathered around him a congregation of French exiles and put into practice his cherished views on Discipline and Order. He soon felt at home, and was regarded as a Lutheran Theologian of the school of Bucer. That does not mean he was a supporter of Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, for Calvin wrote at Strasbourg the Second Edition of the Institutes, and the Second Catechism. He was rather a theologian and Minister of the Church of the Augsburg Confession. As Delegate of the Strasbourg Church, he attended the Conference at Frankfort (Feb.1539). the Colloquies at Hagenau and Worms, and the Interim-verhandlung at Ratisbon (1).

When Brenz, who wrote the Syngramma, came to Basel, he addressed him as 'My dearest Calvin'. At Ratisbon, he was designated by Melanchthon as 'The Theologian by Eminence', on account of the subtlety of his arguments against transubstantiation. (2).

1. Doumergus. ll.p.536 ff.

ll. Henry l. p.367. Hertmann & Jäger. p.183 Schaff. Swiss Ref.p.380

Calvin's Relation to the Augsburg Confession.

It has always been a debated question how Calvin could have conscientiously accepted the Augsburg Confession. Hengstenberg has said, "No Reformer, if he wished to remain true to the Confession of his Church, could sign the Augsburg Confession." (1) But here, there is a confusion of terms. In the year 1541, there were no Lutheran or Reformed Churches in the later sense. But there was a Church of the Augsburg Confession in the Empire, and other churches, for example, the Zwinglian Church in Zurich. It was the Westphal Controversy and the Concordia Formula, which led to the new designation of Reformed or Calvinist and Lutheran. In 1541, there was no such separation or distinction. Bucer and Capito were openly accepted as adherents of the Augsburg Confession, and the variation of their views from the official documents were well known. This is explained by the fact that even in the original edition of 1530, as we have seen, (2) there was no mention of the point of difference between Luther's and the Bucer- Melancthon - Calvin teaching. The presence in the Supper, but not the presence in the bread was taught. It is also quite possible that it was not the original edition of 1530, known as the Invariata, but the new edition of 1540, the Variata, which Calvin subscribed. This Variata contains certain modifications reflecting Melancthon's change of view. "Concerning the Lord's Supper, they teach, that with^{the} bread and wine, are truly exhibited the body and blood of Christ to those who eat in the Lord's Supper," We find that in this new form, the clauses on the real presence, and the disapproval of dissenting views are omitted, and the word "Exhibeantur" is substituted for "Distribuantur". In other words, the Article is so changed that even Zwingli himself could have given it his hearty approval. In 1557, (3). Calvin writes to Schalling; "Nor do I repudiate the Augsburg Confession, which I willingly subscribed, in the sense in which the author himself interpreted it." We have already noted Melancthon's development in view effected

(1). Schaff's Creeds of Christendom. page 241.

(2). Treatise page 99.

(3). Ebrard II. p. 451 note. Swiss Schaff II. 377. Note.

through his intercourse with Oekolampadus. But Calvin too, had conversations with Melanchthon on the subject of the Supper. He met him first at the Frankfort Colloquy (Feb. 1539.) and even before that, he had asked him if there was anything in his teaching with which he could find fault, but Melanchthon assured him that he was at one with him. Calvin writes, (1). "I had sent him several propositions, from which he might discover if there was any difference between us. Ere he answered my enquiries, we met each other at Frankfort, and he proved to me that his meaning was no other than that which my words expressed." In a letter to Farel, March 1539, Calvin further writes, "Melanchthon assents to our doctrine without exception, but confesses that there are those who desire something stronger, - and that he has for long been viewed with suspicion, because, they see that he has somewhat wavered in his opinions. He does not believe that an actual union can be accomplished, yet he anxiously desires that the present agreement may be retained. So far as he is concerned, do not doubt but that he thinks as we do;"(2). When we consider all the circumstances, we fail to see why it should have been considered as inconsistent that Calvin should have put his signature to the Augsburg Confession.

In the new writings which he produced at Strasbourg, we find that there is little change of view point, and that Melanchthon has had no transforming influence upon him. On the other hand, we cannot claim that Calvin has had any influence on Melanchthon, since both came independently to the same doctrine, and both rejoiced to find the other in himself. The two men had the greatest friendship for each other. The words (3), in which Calvin invokes Melanchthon in the "De vera participatione Christi", are almost classic." O Philip Melanchthon, for I appeal to thee who art living in the presence of God with Christ, waiting for us there, until we are united with thee in beatific rest, Thou hast said a hundred times, when, weary with labour, and oppressed with sadness, thou

(1) Henry I p. 155.

(2) do. 157.

(3) Tracts II. page 496.

didst lay thy head familiarly upon my bosom, 'Would God, that I could die on this bosom.'" But while Calvin thus preserved the closest friendship with Melanchthon, that did not prevent him from urging him to greater openness and sincerity.

In a letter to Farel (1), he blames Melanchthon for expressing his meaning in ambiguous terms, and as a matter of fact, Melanchthon did begin to speak more plainly about this time.

Under the very eyes of Luther, the Calvin - Melanchthon teaching spread more and more. We cannot say that Luther agreed with it, but he certainly did not oppose it openly.

The standpoint of this thesis is, that Calvin was not originally a Mediator. He has been designated by Bohatec as the 'Theologian of the Diagonal', but this is not a just description (2). He brought his doctrine independently from France, when he was neither in touch with the Swiss nor German teaching.

What he has given us in the 1st. Edit. of the Institutes, and in his early works, was written to make his position clear in regard to the Roman Catholic Church, from which he had so recently severed himself. Nothing is more unhistorical than to say that his original teaching on the Lord's Supper was a synthesis of Swiss and German elements - an artificial blending of the tenets of the two opposing parties. Quite the contrary is true. His exposition of this question is independent and original, and it had to justify itself to both the opposing camps. It was only when he got to know the situation better, and had studied the points of disagreement, that he began to realise that there was much of essential truth in the testimonies both of Luther and of Zwingli. It was then, he imposed upon himself the task of mediation. Constituted as he was, he could not refuse this high vocation. "For", as Stähelin says, "Whoever is conscious of possessing the power and the means of bringing an unhappy quarrel to an end... ought not, and cannot refrain from exercising that power and using that means." (3). One could not expect any other line of action from a man

like Calvin, who had the unity of the church so much at heart.

I. Henry I. p. 374.

II. Bohatec. Calvin-Studien... Elberfeld. (1909) p. 392.

III. Stähelin. I. p. 212.

De Coena Domini.

It was in this spirit that Calvin brought out his De Coena Domini at Strasbourg in 1540. He published it "to restore quiet to the numerous pious souls, whom the late disputes had so confused, that they knew not where to look." It forms an epoch in his life, because he now appeared for the first time as a mediator, hoping to restore peace to the disturbed communities, and in this way, to lay a foundation for the unity of the several parties in the church of the Reformation. This 'Golden Treatise' (1) is a model of order and arrangement.

Calvin deals with the Lord's Supper under FIVE heads.

1st. For what End, our Lord instituted this Holy Sacrament.

2nd, What Fruit and Utility we receive from it.

3rd, What is the Legitimate Use of it.

4th, The Errors and Superstitions with which it has been contaminated.

5th, The Source of the Recent Discussions and Disputes on this Question. (2).

Right in the beginning, he touches on the point in debate between Zwingli and Luther.

"God", he says, "having received us in baptism into a spiritual life, the food he provides to preserve and strengthen us, must be Spiritual also. For we should understand, that not only has He called us to Possess one day His heavenly inheritance, but by hope, He has already in some measure, installed us in possession. Not only has He promised us Life, but already has regenerated us through the seeds of immortality in His Word". But the Life that has thus been originated in us, must be continually nourished. How can this be effected? Not by perishable food, for what would such food avail the soul? God feeds us by a spiritual bread - His word, through which He has regenerated us. For in this Word is Jesus Christ offered and given for our appropriation. Christ is the true Soul-Food. Through none other, can our inner man be nourished. To Him alone, we are directed. He is the Bread and Water of life. But what now is said of the Word, is also true of the Sacrament of the Supper. Christ is here also

communicated to us through the Word. He has added the Sacrament to the Word, because we are so weak and faint-hearted, that we cannot receive it by faith, however much it is preached to us. God the Father has thus condescended to us, and has given us a visible sign, by which He represents the Substance of His promises. (paras. 3,4,5). The PURPOSES and ENDS of the Lord's Supper are then said to be three.

1st, To SIGN and Seal on our consciences the promise contained in the Gospel concerning our being made partakers of His body and His blood.

2nd, To exercise us in recognising His great goodness towards us.

3rd, To exhort us to all Holiness, Unity and Brotherly Charity.

The SECOND Section deals with the FRUIT and UTILITY of the Lord's Supper.

Here Calvin builds on evangelical foundations. He reminds us of our lost condition, and sinful state. "We are all full of sin and iniquity. None can escape eternal death. If we are not stupefied, this horrible thought must be a kind of hell to vex and to torment us". and all this leads to the perfect Saviour, the Risen and Crucified Redeemer, Who communicates Himself to us in the Supper. We need the crucified Lord to deliver us from our sins. We need the Risen Jesus to free us from the destruction of death, and to make us partakers of the heavenly immortality (para.8).

We find here the mediating work of Calvin at its best.

Here, he combines the great truth in Zwingli's testimony with the outstanding thought of Luther. Zwingli had always related the Supper to the death of Christ, and His historic work. Luther had always emphasised the real communion with the person of Christ.

Calvin now combines these elements organically. He proceeds from the Johannine truth, that the merit of the work of Christ can only be appropriated through a real personal union with Him.

"This is the singular consolation we receive in the Supper, that it leads us to the cross of Christ, and to His resurrection, to certify us that whatever iniquity there may be in us, the Lord nevertheless recognises and accepts us as righteous. But as the blessings of Christ do not belong to us at all, unless He ^{be} previously ours, it is necessary first of all, that He be given to us in the Supper"

(paras. 9-11).

He therefore calls Christ the Substance of the sacrament.

The graces and blessings attained through Him, he calls the Efficacy of the sacrament.

On the other hand, the Substance and the Efficacy are in no way to be disjoined. Hence he concludes that TWO things are presented to us in the Supper.

1stly, Jesus Christ, as the Source and Substance of all good.

2ndly, The Fruit and the Efficacy of His Death and Passion.

Here we find Calvin, for the first time, building his teaching on an Exegetical basis, on the words of the institution of the Supper.

"For after commanding us to eat His body, and drink His blood, He adds that His body was delivered for us, and His blood was shed for the remission of sins. Hereby, He intimates,

First, that we ought not simply to communicate in His body and blood as an empty form, but in order to receive the Fruit derived to us from His death and passion.

Second, that we can attain the enjoyment of such Fruit only by participating in His body and blood, from which it is derived "²¹(~~para~~11)

He means to say that in the Supper, it is not a question of a formal, external union with Christ's body, as an end in itself.

The communion with Christ has as its end and purpose, the appropriation of the merits of Christ. He infers from the words of institution that we have to do with the body of Jesus broken and given for us.

In this way, he founds on Zwingli's Exegesis.

And now again, as in the Institutes, of 1536. it is the SOUL, not the mind or understanding, which receives Christ.

"As our life is in Christ, so are our Souls nourished with food convenient for them". (para 13).

"We all then confess with one mouth, that on receiving the sacrament in faith, according to the ordinance of the Lord, we are truly made partakers of the substance of the ^{and blood} body/of Jesus Christ." (para 60).

That now leads Calvin to the question," so much debated both anciently, and at the present time, How are we to understand the words in which the bread is called the body of Christ, and the Wine His Blood?" "That may be disposed of without difficulty" he answers, "if we carefully observe the principle which I lately laid down, viz., that all the benefit which we should seek in the Supper is annihilated if Jesus Christ be not there given to us as the substance and foundation of all." (para 12.)

In no case are we to deny that a true communication of Jesus Christ is presented to us in the Supper, for that would be to render the sacrament 'frivolous and useless', an 'execrable blasphemy unfit to be listened to.'

"And moreover, if the reason for communicating with Jesus Christ is to have part and portion in all the graces which He purchased for us by His death, the thing requisite must be, not only to participate in His Spirit, but also to be partakers in His Humanity, in which He rendered all obedience to His father, in order to satisfy our debts, although, properly speaking, the one cannot be separated from the other, for when He gives Himself to us, it is in order that we may possess Him entirely. Hence, as it is said that His Spirit is our Life, so He himself, with His own lips, declares that His flesh is meat indeed, and His blood is drink indeed (John VI. 55)

If these words are not to go for nothing, it follows that, in order to have our life in Christ, our souls must feed on His Body and Blood as their proper food. This, then, is expressly attested in the Supper, when of the bread, it is said to us that we are to take it and eat it, and that it is His Body; and of the cup, that we are to drink it, and that it is His blood. This is expressly spoken of the body and blood in order that we may learn to seek there the substance of our spiritual life." (para 13.)

If now, the further question be asked, How are flesh and Blood related to the bread and wine? Calvin answers.

"Bread and wine are the visible signs which represent to us the body and blood." (m para. 14)

They are called body and blood, because they are, as it were Instruments, by which the Lord distributes them to us. They are signs, but not Doctrinal signs, not merely Symbols for the thinking mind, but Signs, which assure us of the accompanying presence of the things they represent. They are signs of the presence, as the Dove was a sign, that the Holy Ghost descended upon Jesus.

"We have a very fair parallel in an analogous case. When the Lord was pleased to manifest His Spirit at Christ's Baptism, He represented it under the figure of a Dove. John the Baptist, narrating the event, says that he saw the Holy Ghost descending. If we look at it clearly, we will perceive that he saw nothing but the Dove, for the essence of the Holy Spirit is invisible. As he knew, however, that the vision was no vain show, but the most sure sign of the presence of the Holy Spirit, he hesitates not to say that he saw it (John, 1, 32) because it was represented to him, according to his capacity.

Thus it is with the communion which we have in the body and blood of the Lord Jesus. It is a spiritual mystery which can neither be seen by the eye nor comprehended by the understanding. It is therefore, figured to us by visible signs, according as our weakness requires, in such manner, nevertheless, that it is not a bare figure, but is combined with the reality and substance. It is with good reason that the bread is called body, since it not only REPRESENTS, but also PRESENTS it to us." (paras. 14 & 15)

As a brief definition of the UTILITY of the Supper, Calvin gives us, "Jesus Christ is there offered to us that we may possess Him, and in Him, all the fullness^{of grace}, which we can desire, and that herein, we have a good aid to confirm our consciences in the faith which we ought to have in Him." (para. 17)

That is all that Calvin considers it judicious to say at this point regarding the question. He enters into less summary explanations in his Institutes, and Polemical Treatises.

At the close of the 2nd section, he touches upon two further benefits of the Supper, in that it incites us to Gratitude and Praise for all that we have received in Christ. A third or practical benefit is also this, that it is a most powerful incentive to Holy Living, and to charity and brotherly love. "For seeing that we have been made members of Jesus Christ, it is most reasonable that we should have become conformable to Him in purity and innocence, and especially that we should cultivate charity and concord together as becomes members of the same body. And inas-much as the virtue of the Holy Spirit is conjoined with the Sacraments when we duly receive it, we have reason to hope that they will prove a good means and aid to make us advance and grow in Holiness of life, and especially in charity." (paras 18 & 19)

3 This leads naturally to the 3rd point proposed at the beginning of the Tract, viz., the legitimate use of the Lord's Supper.

This consists in reverently observing our Lord's Institution. In order that we may receive it worthily we must approach it worthily. In order to take the Pure into ourselves we must have purified ourselves. But as there is no one of us perfectly pure, but many weak in faith, and defective in life God comes to our help in the Holy Sacrament. A penitent and trustful disposition is necessary on our part, in order that we may receive the Sacrament with blessing. "Nay, if we were not weak, subject to distrust and an imperfect life, the Sacrament would be of no use to us, it would have been superfluous to institute it. Seeing,

then, it is a remedy which God has given us to help our weakness, to strengthen our faith, the use becomes the more necessary the more we feel pressed by the disease. For if we allege as an excuse for not coming to the Sacrament that

We are still weak in faith or integrity of life, it is as if a man were to excuse himself from taking medicine because he was sick."

As to the times of using the Supper, Calvin now adverts to the propriety of Frequent Communion. He, however, lays down no fixed rule here. He would not constrain all Christians to use a specified day. If we duly consider the End which our Lord has in view, we shall perceive that the Use should be more frequent than many make it. For the more infirmity presses, the more necessary it is frequently to have recourse to what may, and will, serve to confirm our faith and advance us in purity of life. In every well ordered church, the Supper should be celebrated frequently, so far as the capacity of the people will admit and each individual in his own place should prepare himself to receive it whenever it is administered in the holy assembly, provided there is not some great impediment which constrains him to abstain. (20 to 29) Calvin considers that a great part of the excuses which people make for abstaining are groundless and frivolous.

"Some say that they are unworthy to appear at the Lord's Table, but thereby they acknowledge it is presumption for unworthy Christians to invoke God in prayer." They should rather try to remove the hindrances which the devil throws in their way. (30)

Others pretend that they cannot communicate with unprepared persons, but St. Paul does not command us to examine others, but each to examine himself. It is not the office of each individual to judge and discern, to admit or to debar whom he pleases. This prerogative belongs to all the church in general or rather to the pastor, with the elders. (31)

Others think that it is superfluous to use the sacrament frequently, because if we have once received Jesus Christ, there is no occasion to return so often to receive Him.

This excuse has no semblance of plausibility. The spiritual bread is not given us to eat our fill of it all at once, but rather, that having

had some taste of the sweetness, we may long for ^{it the} more and use it, when it is offered to us. So long as we remain in this mortal life, Jesus Christ is never communicated to us in such a way as to satiate our souls, but wills to be our constant nourishment.(32)

Section IV. Is concerned with a reference to Popish doctrine and errors, but as we shall be dealing with Calvin's attitude to Rome in the Institutes of 1559, we proceed to the concluding paragraphs of the tract which deal with the Recent Disputes on the Supper.

Here Calvin reveals a real desire for adjustment and settlement of the "devil inspired contentions" (55). He shows in what respect both sides have failed and on what points they must come nearer to each other. It is as Stähelin (1) says, "A rare model of a mild and critical review of this flaming quarrel".

First, I beseech all believers in the name of God not to be too much scandalised at the great differences which have arisen amongst those who ought to be kind of leaders in bringing back the Light of Truth. For it is indeed no new thing for the Lord to leave His servants in some degree of ignorance and suffer them to have debate among themselves - not to leave them for ever, but to humble them". (54)

"When Luther began to teach he took a view of the Subject which seemed to imply, that in regard to the Corporal presence in the Supper, he was willing to leave the generally accepted opinion untouched; for while condemning Transubstantiation, he said that the Bread was the Body of Christ, inasmuch as it was united with Him. Besides, he added similitudes which were somewhat harsh and rude; but he was in a manner compelled to do so, as he could not otherwise explain his meaning. For it is difficult to give an explanation of so high a matter without using some impropriety of language"(55). "On the other hand arose Zwingli and Oekolampadius, who, considering the abuse and deceit which the devil had employed in establishing such a carnal presence of Christ, as had been taught and held for more than 600 years, thought it unlawful to disguise their sentiments.

(1) Stähelin I p. 216

since that view implied an execrable idolatry, in that Jesus Christ was worshipped as enclosed in the bread. Now as it was very difficult to remove this opinion, which had been so long rooted in the hearts of men, they applied all their talents to bring it into discredit, showing how gross an error it was, not to recognise what is so clearly declared in Scripture regarding the Ascension of Jesus Christ, that He had been received in His Humanity into Heaven and will remain there until He descend to earth to judge the world, Meanwhile, while engrossed with this point, they forgot to show what presence of Christ ought to be believed in the Supper (56) Luther thought that they meant to leave nothing but the bare signs without their spiritual substance Accordingly he began to resist them to the face, and call them heretics. After the contention was once begun it got more inflamed with time and has thus continued for the space of 15 years or so, without the parties ever listening to each other in a peaceful temper." (57) "We thus see wherein Luther failed on his side, and Zwingli and Oekolampadius on theirs. It was Luther's duty to have given notice that it was not his intention to establish such a local presence as the Papists dream. He should have abstained from these similitudes so harsh and difficult to conceive. On the contrary, with his accustomed violence, he used hyperbolical forms of speech. The other party also offended in that they laboured rather to pull down what was evil, than to build up what was good, for though they did not deny the truth, they did not teach it as clearly as they ought to have done. I maintain that in their too great anxiety to hold that the bread and wine were called the body and blood of Christ, because they are signs of them, they did not attend to add, that though they are signs, the Reality is conjoined with them, and thus protest, that they had no intention whatever to obscure the true communion which the Lord gives us in His Body and Blood by this Sacrament." (58) And Calvin concludes,

EVALUATION OF THE TRACT DE COENA DOMINI.

"Let us not lose sight of our duty, which is, not to forget the gifts that the Lord bestowed on us, and the blessings which he has distributed to us by their hands and means. For if we are not forgetful and ungrateful of what we owe to them, we shall be able to pardon that and much more, without blaming them. In short, we ought always to judge and speak of them with modesty and even with reverence (59). And further, we all then confess with one mouth that in receiving the Sacrament in faith, according to the ordinance of the Lord, we are truly made partakers of the proper substance of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. How that is done, some may deduce better, and explain more clearly than others. Be this as it may, on the one hand, in order to exclude all carnal fancies, we must raise our hearts upwards to Heaven, not thinking that our Lord Jesus is so debased as to be enclosed under some corruptible elements. On the other hand, not to impair the efficacy of this Holy Ordinance, we must hold that it is made effectual by the secret and miraculous power of God, and that the spirit of God is the bond of participation, this being the reason why it is called spiritual.

Meanwhile it should satisfy us that there is fraternity and communion among the churches, and that all agree in so far as it is necessary for the meeting together according to the commandment of God. (60) "If Protestantism had had the irenical sentiments of Calvin," says Toumergue. (1) "Rome would have perished. It is more than certain that Calvin would not have spoken thus, if Zwingli and Oekolampadius had held the opinions which are usually ascribed to them, if they had denied the Real and Spiritual Presence in the sense that Calvin understood it". Henry (2) remarks how Bossuet (3) gives great attention to this little Tract of Calvin, and with what skill he draws from the author's statement the opposite inference to that intended, that is, that Christ is actually present in the Sacrament, and that the unworthy are partakers of His body and

(1) Toumergue Vol.V. p.355. (2) Henry l. 177

(3) Bossuet. Hist des Variations, Paris LIV, lX p.25 Edition.

and Blood. Luther's attitude to the same work was entirely favourable. We have proof of this in Pezel's *Erzählung vom Sakramentstreit*.(1) "The Book of Calvin translated into Latin by Des Gallars had been printed in 1545, and brought to Wittenberg. On 13th April, Dr. Luther, having finished his lecture, betook himself to the book-shop of Moritz Goltzsch, who showed him Calvin's little book on the Lord's Supper. Dr. Luther, seating himself, read the book with particular interest and at last said, "Certainly a learned and pious man! I could have^{en} trusted the whole matter of this debate to him. For my part, I consider that if the opposite party had not made so much of it, we could have come to an agreement. If Zwingli and Oekolampadius had expressed themselves thus at the beginning, we should not have had so long dispute". Hospinian in his *Historiæ Sacramentariæ* (1598) (2) relates the same anecdote. Henry (3) regards it as "having all the external and internal signs of truth". Koestlin says that it is credible (4), and Doumergue reproduces it as well as Ebrard (5). The *De Coena* was an irenical work, which did not profess to go deeply into any question, but rather to examine if no common formula could be found in which Luther and Zwingli could unite.

The SECOND EDITION of the INSTITUTES was published at Strasbourg in 1539. This Edition professes to furnish an introduction to the Bible and a Summary of what it is necessary to know concerning salvation. Calvin apologises for the delay in the appearance of this book. "During the last two years", he says, "God has been exercising me in a strange manner". We have already spoken of these years. In them, as Doumergue remarks, "Calvin has refreshed his knowledge and experience"(6). In the new Edition, many additional topics are touched upon, and the simplicity and clarity of the earlier work is lost. This defect however, is remedied in the French translation which was made in 1541.

Here the material is arranged much more articulately and orderly.

1. Pezel. Real-Encyclop. 2nd Edit. p.137.f.

II. Hospinian. Hist. Sacr. p. 329.

III. Henry II. p. 302.

IV. Koestlin II. p.572.

V. Ebrard II. p. 475.

VI. Doumergue IV. p.4.

This French translation of 1541 appeared in the same year as the Second Catechism. In teaching, they are practically identical, and it would be tedious to treat each separately, especially, as we shall be giving a detailed exposition of the last Edition of the Institutes (1559). In both, the place and work of the Holy Spirit in the Sacrament, is exhaustively described. In the opinion of Wernle(1), this aspect had received insufficient attention in the Edition of 1536.

In the section, De Sacramentis in the Catechism, the operation of the Holy Spirit in its relation to the operation of the sacraments is admirably defined. All dualism is excluded.

We begin our discussion with QUESTION 3. "Seeing it is the proper office of the Holy Spirit to seal the promises of God^{upon} our minds, how do you attribute this to the sacraments?"

ANSWER, " There is a wide difference between Him and them. To move and affect the heart; to enlighten the mind; to render the conscience sure and tranquil, truly belongs to the Spirit alone; so that it ought to be regarded as wholly His work, and to be ascribed to Him alone, that no other may have the praise. But this does not at all prevent God from employing the sacraments as Secondary instruments and applying them to what use He deems proper without derogating in any respect from the agency of the Spirit. From this, it follows that the power and efficacy of the sacrament is not contained in the outward element, but flows entirely from the Son of God" (2)

According to Calvin, the truth is not, that in general cases, the Holy Spirit unites us to Christ, in that He brings Christ into our thoughts, and that in exceptional cases, Christ gives His body and blood orally without the intervention of the Holy Spirit, by means of bread and wine. Bread and wine are not used as Substitutionary organs which can effect a more real communion than the Holy Spirit. That is not Calvin's view. This is rather what he means.

There is only One Mediator between us and Christ, only One, Who can effect the creation of the new man in us, and that is God the Holy Spirit. A creature is not able to transform us into.

1. Wernle. p. 113.

11. Tracts. 11. p. 84.

new creatures. The Holy Spirit effects that Christ is really born in us. He effects that central, continuous living union with Christ, which begins at the new birth and continues through our Christian course. Outside this, there is no Second. Also in the sacraments, there is only one. But there is a twofold kind of Secondary Organs, which the Holy Spirit uses, in order to effect that living union between the believer and Christ.

There are the Spiritual Organs of Preaching and the Word.

"If we were wholly spiritual, we might, like the angels, spiritually behold Him and His grace, but as we are surrounded with this body of clay and subject to all the weaknesses of mortal flesh", the Holy Spirit makes use of the Material organs of the sacraments, for the inducing and strengthening of this mystical union. And yet, the activity of the Spirit is not so related to the working of these Secondary organs, that it is suspended or that both activities are merged into one. The material organs (the signs in the sacrament) are pledges and seals of a simultaneous, dynamic activity of the Holy Spirit in the soul.

It is not the bread which brings Christ. It is not upon the bread that we must gaze, as if that 'dead creature' had the immanent power to bring us Christ. Christ gives Himself to us through His Holy Spirit, and the bread is a pledge and seal which raises the certainty of this mystical union far above all the vacillations of our subjective faith.

Ebrard supplies a table which makes the above exposition clear and plain.

| The Truth is not that Christ | |
|---|---|
| Communicates Himself <u>outside</u> the Sacrament through the Holy Spirit to our thoughts. | Communicates Himself <u>in</u> the Sacrament through outward signs to our body. |
| But Christ | |
| <u>Communicates Himself to us Mystically through the Holy Spirit.</u> <u>Outside</u> the sacraments, so that the subjective perception of His objective communication overcomes many vacillations. | <u>In</u> the Sacraments, so that we obtain objective certainty of His objective communications through visible signs, with whose reception, the mystical communication of Christ is bound. |

In the French Edition of the Institutes, (1541), we have similar teaching. The Holy Spirit is there described as the bond of connection (lien de cette union) between the believer and Christ's body which is at the right hand of God. The Spirit unites us to Him and is a kind of channel by which everything that Christ has and is, is derived to us.

"For if we see that the sun is shining, and sending forth its rays upon the earth to generate, cherish and invigorate its offspring, in a manner transfuses its substance into us and it, why should the radiance of the Spirit be less in conveying to us the communion of His Flesh and Blood? Wherefore the Scripture, when it speaks of our participation with Christ, refers its whole efficacy to the Spirit.

Paul, in Romans. VIII, 9 to 11, shows that the only way in which Christ dwells in us, is by his Spirit. By this however, he does not take away that communion of flesh and blood of which we now speak, but shows that it is owing to the Spirit, that we possess Christ wholly" This is but an echo of the Catechism. It is the Holy Spirit that is the one bond of union. There is no need to bring the body of Christ from heaven, and to confine it in the bread.

"I mean that we are not to cleave to the visible signs so as to seek salvation from them, or to imagine that the power of conferring grace is either fixed, or included in them, but rather that the sign is to be used as a help, by which, when seeking salvation and complete felicity we are pointed directly to Christ." (2)

1. Institutes of 1541. p. 637.

11. Catechism of 1541. Tracts 11. p.85.

If we now consider the section of the Catechism which deals particularly with the Lord's Supper, we find this definition of its meaning.

"It was instituted by Christ, in order that by the communication of His Body and blood, He might teach and assure us that our souls are being trained (educari) in the hope of eternal life." (1).

This answer clearly teaches that the communion is an inward, mystical communion. It is a matter for our souls (animas). The Supper gives a symbolical display (doceret), and seals to us its certainty (certum redderet).

In the following question, it is more exactly shewn that Christ is the living bread and food of the inner man. "Why is the body of our Lord figured by bread and His blood by wine?". "We are hence taught that such virtue as bread has in nourishing our bodies, the same has the body of our Lord spiritually to nourish our souls".

And the merit of Christ's death can be appropriated to us only through this living union.

"For, as our whole reliance (fiducia) for salvation depends on Him, in order that the obedience which He yielded to the Father, may be imputed to us, just as if it were ours, it is necessary that He be possessed by us; for the only way in which He communicates His blessings to us, is by making Himself ours."

"But did He not give Himself to us, when He exposed Himself to death, that He might redeem us from the sentence of death, and reconcile us to God? That is indeed true but it is not enough for us, unless we now receive Him, that thus the efficacy and fruit of His death may reach us."

This living union does not consist in subjective faith, but in that Christ really lives in us.

"But does not the manner of receiving consist in faith? I admit it does, but I at the same time add, that this is done, when we not only believe that He died for us in order to free us from death, and was raised up, that He might purchase life for us, but recognise that He dwells in us, and that we are united to Him by a union the same in kind as that which unites the members to the Head, that by virtue of this union, we may become partakers of all His blessings."

This living union, according to I Cors, I 1-6; Ephes, 5, and 20; John, 6, 51, does not pertain merely in the moment of communicating in the Supper, but always. In the Supper, however, it is confirmed and increased (confirmatur et augetur), for, "although Christ is exhibited to us in baptism and in the gospel, we do not however receive Him entire, but in part only" (I).

Now there is precisely taught the Synchronism of the act of increased communion with Christ, with the act of reception of the signs.

"What then have we in the Symbol of Bread? As the Body of Christ was once sacrificed for us to reconcile us to God, so now also is it given to us, that we may certainly know that reconciliation belongs to us."

"What in the Symbol of the Wine? That as Christ once shed His blood for the satisfaction of our sins, and as the price of our redemption, so He now also gives it to us to drink, that we may feel the benefit which should thence accrue to us."

After refuting the teaching that the Mass is a sacrifice, it is shewn that Christ gives Himself under two signs - the bread and the wine.

"Therein the Lord consulted our weakness, teaching us in a more familiar manner that He is not only food to our souls, but drink also, so that we are not to seek any part of spiritual life anywhere else than in Him alone."

The Catechism strongly disapproves the Denial of the cup to the laity, and then proceeds to discuss whether in the Supper, only a figure of the benefits is presented." Have we in the Supper only a figure of the benefits mentioned, or are they there exhibited to us in reality? The answer is. " Seeing that our Lord Jesus Christ is truth itself, there cannot be a doubt that He at the same time fulfils the promise which He there gives us, and adds the reality to the figures. Wherefore I doubt not that as He testifies by words and signs, so He also makes us partakers of His substance, that thus we may have our life in Him."

Calvin always uses the word Substance, not in a material sense, but in the sense of Virtus or Kraft. (2).

I Tracts. II p. 90 passim.

II See Institutes of 1536. Treatise, p, 121.

He now repeats the statements with which we are already familiar.

1st., It is not the bread that brings Christ to us, but the Holy Spirit.

The bread is but a sign/^{and seal}of a simultaneous activity. "Actus in actu", Ebrard (I). designates it, "non extensum in extenso",

2nd., The manner of Christ's communication is supra spatial, and thus His ascension and the circumspection of His body does not hinder in any way the reality of the mystical union. Both these statements are enshrined in the following question and answer. "But how can this be, when the body of Christ is in Heaven, and we are still pilgrims on the earth? "This He accomplishes by the secret and miraculous agency of His Spirit, to whom it is not difficult to unite things otherwise disjoined by a distant space."

The following question denies the local inclusion of the body.

It is then again repeated that there are two things in the Supper, viz. a Heavenly and invisible thing, and an earthly and visible thing, and that Christ feeds us for the Resurrection of the body. "The Resurrection is also there confirmed, to us by a kind of pledge, since the body also shares in the symbol of life."

Finally, the legitimate use of the Sacrament is thus clearly defined, in that we must be true members of Christ, but that our communion does not depend upon the higher or lower degree of our faith. "What is the right and legitimate use of the Sacrament?"

That which Paul points out, "Let a man examine himself before He approach it." (I Cor. XI. 28). (I).

Into what is he to inquire in this examination? "Whether he be a true member of Christ."

By what evidence may he come to know this? If he is endued with faith and repentance, love for his neighbour, if he has his mind pure from all hatred and malice.

Do you require that a man's faith

(I) Ebrard II p. 459.
Tracts II p. 90. passim.

Summing up of Calvin's Strasbourg Teaching on the Lord's Supper.

and charity should both be perfect? Both should be entirely free from all hypocrisy, but it were vain to demand an absolute perfection to which nothing should be wanting, seeing that none such will ever be found in man. Then the imperfection under which we still labour, does not forbid our approach? On the contrary, were we perfect, the Supper would no longer be of any use to us. It should be a help to aid our weakness, and a support to our imperfection". We can compare this with Luther's lines.

" Ist dir's wohl, so bleib davon
Dass du nicht Kriegest bösen Lohn". (1).

As regards the question whether Christ is present in the Supper to Unbelievers, or as Calvin designates them "Godless", the answer is given that Christ is present in the action of the Supper to all, but that He is repelled by such as are ungodly. "But what confidence can there be in the Sacraments as a means of establishing the conscience, and what certain security can be had from things which the Good and Bad use indiscriminately? Although the Wicked, so to speak, annihilate the gifts of God, offered in the Sacraments, as far as regards themselves, they do not thereby deprive the Sacraments of their nature and virtue", (2).

The teaching of the Three Strasbourg Writings, De Coena Domini, 1540, (1541 &)
2nd. Institutes (1539) and the 2nd. Catechism (1541), are only a logical development, and a detailed exposition of the view presented at the Sep. Synod at Bern. (1537). That developed view may be summed up in a series of propositions.

Ist., The Christian life is represented as consisting always in the form of a mystical union with Christ, accomplished by the Spirit through the soul or central principle of our twofold life, but extending from this into the whole man.

(1)- Ebrard II. 460.

(2). Tracts. II 85.

2nd., In the Lord's Supper, this communication, always only partial in our present state, is confirmed and increased.

3rd., The bread and wine are symbols with no power apart from the action of the Spirit, but along with them is offered really and truly the lifegiving virtue of Christ's flesh and blood.

4th., They are not merely significative but also exhibitiv signs, making us partakers of the substance of Christ's life.

5th., By Substance is meant, not matter in any sense, but the virtue and active energy of which Christ's glorified Body consists.

6th., All is a mystery transcending the categories of space and time.

7th., The wonderful and hidden power of Christ's Spirit binds together things which are otherwise locally far apart.

8th., The believer must look not to the bread and wine as such, but to Christ in Heaven (not however in the sense of reaching Him only by subjective thought and feeling, and still less in the sense of a real local ascent of the soul to His presence), in such a way as to expect from Him superlocally, and not from the local signs in any material mode, the objective grace of the Holy Sacrament.

9th., This objective grace is a true participation in the very substance of Christ, effected through the wonderful power of the Holy Ghost.

These propositions (I) define Calvin's teaching in the years 1539-1541, and they are only the organic development of his testimony during the years 1537-1539. Calvin was not a Zwinglian (in the narrow sense), who in Germany pretended to be a Lutheran. He was still less a Lutheran, who after his return to Switzerland, fell away from Lutheranism, and accepted a feigned Zwinglianism. He was neither a Zwinglian nor a Lutheran, but always, and in all periods of his life, he preached the same doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and at all times with great openness. He

differed from Zwingli in his middle period, in that he explained that in the Holy Supper there is a real communication of Christ's vivific power to believers - a real communion with Christ. He differed from Luther in that he maintained with equal emphasis the Centrality, Illocality, and Continuity of the mystical union, and that it was effected by the Holy Spirit. He differed from him also in that he regarded Bread and Wine as Pledges of an accompanying strengthening of the Mystical Union with Christ already existing. This was the teaching on the Lord's Supper which Calvin expressed openly in Germany, where he was reckoned as a Lutheran Theologian, and as a minister of the Church of the Augsburg Confession. He did not borrow this teaching from Bucer and Melanchthon. He brought it with him into Germany, But Melanchthon soon found himself in almost complete agreement with him. (I).

(I). Ebrard II. p. 463.

CHAPTER TWELVE - Pages 165 to 191.Calvin's Second Sojourn in Geneva....The CONSENSUS TIGURINUS.

Letter to Sadolet.

Events leading up to Calvin's Recall to Geneva.

Return to Geneva ... 12th. Sept. 1541.

Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques on the Lord's Supper (1541).

Negotiations leading up to the CONSENSUS TIGURINUS.

Letter of Calvin to Bullinger on the Lord's Supper.

Bullinger's Reply to Calvin.

The Twenty Articles of Bern.

The 26 Articles of the Consensus Tigurinus.

The mingling of Predestinarian Teaching in the Consensus Tigurinus.

Attitude of other Churches to the Consensus Tigurinus.

Calvin spent three happy years in Strasbourg, but he did not forget Geneva. He proved his interest in her welfare in many ways. He rendered a most conspicuous service to her by his Letter to Sadolet (Sept. 1539).

"An evil of a dangerous kind arose in the year 1539, and was at once extinguished by the diligence of Calvin", says Beza, (1)

" The Bishop of Carpentras at that time was James Sadolet, a man of great eloquence, which he perverted in suppressing the truth of light. Observing his opportunity in the circumstances which had occurred in Geneva, and thinking that he would ensnare the flock, when deprived of its distinguished pastors, he sent a letter to the people of Geneva, omitting nothing which might tend to bring them back into the lap of Rome. There was nobody at that time in Geneva capable of writing an answer, but Calvin, having read it in Strasbourg, forgot all his injuries, and

I. Beza. Life of Calvin. p. 67.

forthwith answered it with so much truth and eloquence, that Sadolet immediately gave up the whole affair as desperate". (1). This is Beza's account of the important and interesting controversy which occurred in the German period of Calvin's life, and left a permanent impression on history. This Answer to Sadolet (2). was one of the means of saving Geneva from Popery, and led indirectly to his return to the city. But there were other reasons which demanded his recall. Internal disturbances followed his expulsion, and brought the little Republic to the brink of ruin. Calvin had predicted a short regime to his enemies, and he was right, for in less than a year, they were demoralised and split up into factions. "There is no place in the world"; he wrote to Viret, "where I am more afraid; not because I hate it, but because I feel unequal to the difficulties which await me there". (3). He was not mistaken in his fears, for his subsequent life was an unbroken struggle.

We need not wonder then, that he refused call after call, and requested Farel and Viret to desist from their efforts to lure him away from Strasbourg. (4). The return to Geneva however appeared to be inevitable.

The Council and the people were convinced that Calvin alone could save the city. His recall was first seriously discussed in the Council early in 1539, and finally decided upon 12th Sept. 1540. (5). A year later, after much searching of heart, (6), he arrived at Geneva, 12th Sept. 1541. (7).

On the following day, he appeared before the Syndics and the Council in the town hall. He made no demand for the punishment of his enemies, but asked for the appointment of a commission to prepare a written order of Church government and discipline. The Council complied with his request, and resolved to retain him permanently, and to inform the Senate of Strasbourg of this intention.

I. Beza's Life of Calvin. p. 67.

II. Calvin Tracts I page 3.

III. Herminjard. VII. 43.

IV. Dyer. p. 121. and Kampschulte. I. 370.

V. Registres du Conseil.

VI. Herminjard, VI, p, 333.

VII. Heyer p, 6.

ORDONNANCES ECCLESIASTIQUES.

On 26th. Sept., the Commission presented the Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques to the Small Council. This Council objected to the monthly celebration of the Lord's Supper, and recommended its celebration only four times a year. Calvin yielded his better judgment in consideration of the weakness of the times. With this modification, the Small Council adopted the constitution on Oct. 27th. (1). The citizens accepted it on 20th Nov. 1541. This was a great victory, for the Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques laid a solid foundation for a well regulated and evangelical church (2). We are only concerned here with these Arts. in so far as they denote the extreme importance which Calvin at that time, and all throughout his life, placed on the doctrine and celebration of the Lord's Supper.

The pertinent Articles are. (3).

Article 53. Since our Lord instituted the Supper for frequent celebration, and as it was thus observed in the ancient church, until the devil overturned everything, requiring the Mass in place of it, this too infrequent celebration is a fault which ought to be corrected. However, in the meantime, we have advised and ordained that it be administered Four times a year, viz., Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and the first Sunday of Sept.

Article 54. The ministers should distribute the bread orderly and reverently, and no one should give the cup save these appointed, or the Deacons with the ministers, and for this reason, there should not be too many vessels.

Article 55. The tables should be near the pulpit, in order that the minister be convenient for the tables.

Article 56. It should only be celebrated in the Church until a better opportunity.

Article 57. On the previous Sunday, intimation should be made, so that no young person may come before having made profession of faith, conformant to the Catechism. Strangers and new-comers should also be exhorted to come and present themselves first at the church in order to receive instruction, so that no one may approach to his condemnation.

I. Registres du Conseil. Oct. 27. II. Schaff Swiss. Ref. II. p. 445
 III. Heyer. p. 270. Opera. X. p. 15-20.
 Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques - Ex. R.S.S. Tom X part I. p. 15.

Negotiations leading up to the Consensus Tigurinus.

There now ensued for Calvin a period of great activity and usefulness. This activity was not limited to the narrow bounds of the little Geneva state. He had a care for the larger interests of Christ's kingdom. He conducted a most extensive correspondence, and for seven years, (1542-1549), he was engaged in most delicate negotiations for the framing of the Consensus Tigurinus.

We have already seen in his Tract, De Coena, that he had a great desire to subdue the violence of hostile parties. It was in conformity with this feeling that he now promoted by all the means in his power, the Zurich Consensus. This was the first step towards the accomplishment of his greater plan. Calvin agreeing almost entirely with Melancthon, had been favourably regarded by Luther. The outbreak of the latter in the Kurzes Bekenntnis in 1544, was a matter of mere private concern, and had no dogmatic importance.

Calvin could therefore reasonably entertain the hope, after Luther's death in 1546, that with the help of Melancthon, he might mediate successfully in promoting a union between Germany and Switzerland on the question of the Lord's Supper. Had this actually been accomplished, the Church would have formed one great harmonious whole, and Calvin would have repaired what Luther's violence had marred. But as an essential to this union, the Swiss must have confessed the real, spiritual, substantial presence of Christ in the sacrament. Most of them indeed had adopted this doctrine, but from regard to Zwingli, they refrained from openly confessing it, and this, though Zwingli in his third period, returned to his earlier and more positive testimony. Great diversity of opinion prevailed on this subject in the church at Bern. Viret was involved in a dispute with Gulzer, and opinion fluctuated between the old, onesided abstract, view of the understanding and the more concrete view of Calvin.

Both he and Viret were accused at Zurich of having, according to report, dissented from the Swiss Confession and inclined to Lutheranism, but the contrary was known to be the case, when Farel and Calvin visited Zurich in 1548. They worked unceasingly to calm the spirit of

Letter of Calvin to Bullinger.

controversy which had arisen among individuals.

Calvin had rightly felt that he must unite with Bullinger who had succeeded Zwingli^{in Zurich.} He was a man of great influence and sound learning and with him, Calvin conducted a correspondence of much interest to the subject of this thesis. Calvin realised that he was engaged in an undertaking of great difficulty, as he well knew the obstinacy of the Zurichers. (1).

This is made evident in a letter written to Viret in April 1548 (2).

He there complains that the Zurichers were so perverse that they were ready to admit the most slanderous reports. The difficulties which he had to encounter will be seen by some extracts which we will give from the letters which he wrote at this period.

In the following letter, he seeks to win Bullinger by gentle words.(3)

"We are anxious to come to a friendly understanding with you. It is no mere theatrical affair, that we propose. I say nothing about Farel whose mind, as you know, shrinks with disgust from every kind of ostentation. But we are anxious to discuss with you in a familiar way those points with regard to which we are most nearly at one. And this were indeed the best method of procedure among brethren, and one we should have found profitable, unless I am greatly deceived." (3).

And now there follows a condensed statement of the manner in which Christ is present in the ordinance of His appointment(4).

"For with regard to the sacraments in general, we neither bind up the grace of God with them nor transfer to them the work or power of the Holy Spirit, nor constitute them the ground of the assurance of salvation. We expressly declare that it is God alone, Who acts by means of the sacraments, and we maintain that their whole efficacy is due to the Holy Spirit, and testify that the action appears only in the elect. Nor do we teach that the sacrament is of profit, otherwise than as it leads us by the hand to Christ, that we may seek in Him whatever blessings there are. I do not see indeed what you can

properly

I. Dyer. Life of Calvin. p. 247.

II. Herminjard. p. 458.

III. Bonnet. Letters II. p. 155. Henry II. p. 78.

IV. Reyburn. Life of Calvin. p. 222. Dyer. p. 249.

desire as wanting in this doctrine, which teaches that salvation is to be sought from Christ alone, makes God its sole author, and asserts that it is accepted only through the secret working of the Spirit.

We teach however, that the sacraments are instruments of the grace of God, for, as they were instituted in view of a certain end, we refuse to allow that they have no proper use. We therefore say, that what is represented in them, is exhibited to the elect, lest it should be supposed that God deludes the eyes by a fallacious representation.... When the signs of the flesh and blood of Christ are spread before us in the Supper, we say that they are not spread before us in vain, but that the thing is also manifested to us, whence it follows that we eat the body, and drink the blood of Christ. By so partaking, we neither make the sign the thing, nor confound both in one, nor enclose the body of Christ in the bread, nor on the other hand, imagine it to be infinite, nor dream of a carnal transfusion of Christ into us nor lay down any other fiction of that sort. You maintain that Christ according to His human nature is in heaven. We also propose the same doctrine. The word 'heaven' implies in your doctrine, distance of space.

We also readily adopt that opinion, that Christ is undoubtedly distant from us by an interval of space.

You deny that the body of Christ is infinite, but hold that it is contained within its circumference. We candidly give an unhesitating assent to that view, and raise a public testimony on behalf of it. You refuse to allow the sign to be confounded with the thing; we are careful in admonishing that the one should be distinguished from the other. You strongly condemn Impanation. We subscribe to your decision.

What then is the sum of our doctrine? It is this, that when we discern here on earth the bread and wine, our minds must be raised to heaven, in order to enjoy Christ, and that Christ is here present with us, while we seek Him above the elements of the world. For it is not permitted us to charge Christ with imposition; and that would be the case unless we held that the reality is exhibited with the sign. And you also concede

that the sign is by no means empty. It only remains that we define what it contains within it. When we briefly reply, that we are made partakers of the flesh and blood of Christ, that He may dwell in us, and we in Him, and in this way, enjoy all His benefits, what is there, I ask, in these words, either absurd or obscure, especially as we, in express terms exclude whatever delirious fancies occur to the mind?"(1). Bullinger still continued to complain of some of Calvin's expressions.

On 6th Dec. he writes, (2) "I reply to your propositions, not in order to impugn them, but to give you an opportunity of throwing further light upon them, if by any means, it may be given to us to think and speak alike". There was as yet, we see, no question of his approving Calvin's teaching. Bullinger simply wanted information as to what exactly Calvin meant. Calvin replied 21st June 1549, and complained of his obstinate distrust. "I have read your annotations, from which I have discovered what you regard as wanting in my belief. I have endeavoured briefly to satisfy you, because the matter itself does not demand a long discourse..... I observe that you are perplexed in regard to many points which present difficulty, simply because you put upon the majority of my statements a different construction from that you have any ground for doing. A preconceived opinion regarding me, leads you to imagine and attribute to me what never occurred to my mind." (3).

In this correspondence we see that Calvin was thoroughly occupied with the thought of reconciling the Swiss by a method of his own. They had been violently separated from communion with the German Protestants by Luther's rough and intolerant treatment, and were thus driven to a greater one-sidedness of opinion. Calvin hoped to correct this by the inculcation of higher views, which should not only stretch far above their one-sidedness, but bring into clearer display the truth, held partially by both (4).

Everything seemed to promise peace when the year 1549 commenced.

I. Bonnet. II p. 156
III. Bonnet II. p. 196

II. Ebrard II. p. 497.
IV. Henry II. p. 79.

A synod was held at Bern on 19th March, and the Genevese sent a letter to the meeting. Calvin employed this opportunity to win the Bernese by words of reconciliation, and thus to lay the foundation of union on the question of the Sacrament. "That we offer, uncalled for, a statement of our views on the Sacraments, requires some brief apology, though no particular preface can be needed in addressing you on so important a subject. Since your illustrious Senate has called on you to deliberate, regarding the peace of the Church -- it is probable there will be some discussion regarding the Sacraments, as that subject has for a long time occupied the attention of the Bernese Church. Though no exposition of the doctrine therefore has been asked of us, we have yet considered it our duty to state what we will with one mouth confess" (1) Twenty articles follow (2).

It was Calvin's main design in these, to show that the Sacraments ought by no means to be regarded as empty signs. He was anxious to give new life to the cold Megandrian doctrine of the Swiss, and to make them all see that they could not properly persevere in holding this opinion, but ought rather to reconsider it, as he himself had done. These articles form the basis of the Consensus Tigurinus, and their teaching is in harmony with Calvin's Strasbourg testimony, as exemplified in the De Coena, and the Catechism. (3).

We have no information as to how Calvin's Articles were received at the Synod of Bern. Viret expresses himself as only generally satisfied with the results. But after the Synod, Calvin undertook further negotiations with the Bullinger at Zurich. (4) He did not wish, Bucerwise, to draw up an ambiguous formula; what he tried to do, was to convince Bullinger of the truth of the Calvinistic Doctrine. Before this, he had only succeeded in convincing him that he was not a Lutheran, and that he acknowledged the true moments in Zwingli's teaching, viz. the opposition to the corporal presence, the Oral Communication, and the idolising (Vergötterung) of the earthly elements. He had not got any

I. Letters - Bonnet II. page 80.

(2) Henry II. p. 133 of Appendix. Hundeshagen page 245.

(3) Ebrard II. page 498. (4) Hundeshagen. page 246.

further than that. The point of difference between him and Zwingli (as Calvin conceived his teaching) had remained as points of difference between him and Bullinger. A second meeting and conversation was absolutely necessary, if an understanding was to be effected. But the time was not propitious for a journey to Zurich. Calvin was put out of sorts by Bullinger's mistrust of him. He was occupied by party strife and division in Geneva, and he had no inclination (1) to listen to Farel's earnest exhortation to him to go to Zurich. Then unexpectedly, a friendly invitation came from Bullinger. He asked him for a meeting, and an interview in Zurich. Calvin was delighted, and wrote (2) to him, "I am desirous of telling you that I have scarcely ever received anything more pleasant from you; for I am very glad that hardly anything - or at least very little - hinders us from agreeing even in words." Two days later he had set out. (3) Farel accompanied him. "By prudence and love" Farel had said, "we shall conquer." (1) And he was not deceived. The conference of the ministers continued several days, and the well-known Formulary was drawn up, which all the Helvetic and Rhaetian Churches, with those of the Grisons subscribed, and by which Bullinger and Calvin, and the Churches of Geneva and Zurich, were united in the strictest alliance. It is of supreme importance for the subject of this thesis, and we now proceed to its discussion. Some of the Articles are general and uncontroversial, and we pass them over without comment.

In the first Six Articles, the Consensus speaks generally of our Salvation in Christ. But in Article VII, it proceeds to a particular discussion of the Sacraments.

VII. THE ENDS OF THE SACRAMENTS. (4)

"The ends of the Sacraments are to be marks and badges of Christian profession and fellowship or fraternity, to be incitements to gratitude, and exercises to faith and a godly life; in short, to be Contracts binding us to this. But among other ends, the Principal one is, that God may, by means of them, attest, represent and seal His grace in us. For although they

(1) Hundeshagen. Pages 247 and 248. (2) Bonnet II. page 211.

(3) Hundeshagen, page 393. (4) Tracts II. page 214.

signify nothing else than is announced to us by the Word itself, yet it is a great matter.

(A) That there is submitted to our eyes, a kind of living images which make a deeper impression on the senses, by bringing the objects in a manner directly before them, while they bring the death of Christ and all His benefits directly to our remembrance, that faith may be better exercised.

(B) That what the mouth of God had announced is, as it were, confirmed and ratified by seals."

This Article, amongst others of the Consensus, has often been quoted as proof that Calvin was here making concessions to Megandrianism. Dr Hodge, who does not himself rise above this latter view, sees in Calvin's doctrine, a conflict between a lower and a higher thought, and in this Article, (1) he seeks confirmation of this thesis. We do not think that this contention is supported by the facts. Our opinion is that Art. VII is a clear expression of the difference between the view of Megander, and Calvin's higher thought. Even to Megander, the Sacraments are Tesseræ Professionis, Tesseræ Fraternitatis, Exhortations to Thankfulness. The Consensus admits that they are all this in a secondary way, but that in their essence, they are seals of the divine activity of grace. And when we speak of Seals, we have to remember that in the phraseology of Calvin's age, Sealing had the sense of "authentication of what is at hand mystically in the Sacramental transaction"

(2) It is not that the Sacraments contain another new, second kind of activity of grace; different from what takes place outside them. In them, there is the same continuous, mystical, personal living union with Christ, in which all our subjective life of faith finds its objective ground and its end. There is the same reckoning of the righteousness of Christ, the same bestowal of sanctifying forces, which are the

(1) Mercersburg Review, page 59.

Hodge, Systematic Theology, III. Page 649.

(2) Mercersburg Review, Page 60.

the fruits of that objective living union. But these graces are imparted in a new way in the Sacraments. The Sacraments have a double meaning - a Doctrinal meaning as Symbols and an Attesting meaning as Seals. This was well brought out by Melancthon's "Docent" and "Testantur". As symbols; they display the object of faith before the mind in clear pictures, (*subjiciuntur oculis nostris quasi vivae imagines*). As Pledges, they seal and confirm to us, the real, actual, objective, reception of these divine things. Schenkel is also of opinion, like Hodge, that Calvin here ascribes to the Sacraments no objective power. "Calvin here is driven to refer the efficacy of the Sacraments to subjective Faith, and to deprive them of objective force" (1) That this is not the case, is clearly shown in the Exposition (2) of the Consensus Tigurinus which was written shortly afterwards. When speaking of Luther, Calvin says, "I am aware how many hyperbolical things fell from him in debate, but whenever he wished to make his cause appear most plausible to pious and upright judges, what did he profess to be the ground of controversy?

1st. That he could not hear that the Sacraments should be regarded merely as External Marks of Profession, and not also as Badges and Symbols of divine grace.

2nd., That he held it an indignity to compare them to void and empty pictures, while God truly testifies in them what he figures, and, at the same time by His secret agency, performs and fulfils what He testifies," (2) Calvin acknowledges this as the true moment in Luther's teaching. Then he says of the German Theologians, "If they use it candidly, and not merely to tickle the ears of the simple, surely when they hear us confess on the one hand, that the Sacraments are neither empty figures nor mere external badges of piety, but seals of the divine promises, testimonials of spiritual grace to cherish and confirm faith, and on the other, that they are Instruments

(1) Schenkel - Wesen des Protestantismus, I. page 428.

(2) Tracts II 224.

Instruments by which God acts effectually in His Elect; that, therefore, although they are signs distinct from the things signified, they are neither disjoined nor separated from them; that they are given to ratify and confirm what God has promised by His word, and especially to seal the secret communion which we have with Him, - there certainly remains no reason why they should mark us in their list of enemies. (1) While, as I lately mentioned, they are constantly exclaiming that they have no other purpose than to maintain the doctrine that God uses the Sacraments as helps to foster and increase faith, that the promises of eternal salvation are engraven on them to offer them to our consciences, and that the signs are not devoid of the things as God enjoins the effectual working of His spirit with them, then all this being granted, what, I ask, prevents them from freely giving us their hand?"(2).

He now refers to the AUGSBURG CONFESSION. "And to make it unnecessary to turn up and examine the private writings of each, readers will find in our Agreement every thing contained in the Confession, published at Ratisbon, and called the Confession of Augsburg, (3) provided only that it be not interpreted as having been composed under fear of torture, to gain favour with the Papists. The words are 'In the Holy Supper, the body and blood of Christ are truly given with the bread and wine'. Far be it from us to take away the reality from the sacred symbol of the Supper, or to deprive pious souls of so great a benefit. We say, that lest the bread and wine should deceive our senses, the true effect is conjoined with the external figure, so that believers receive the body and blood of Christ". (2) We now go back to the Articles of the Consensus, and we find the same teaching stated clearly in detail.

(1) Tracts II p. 224.

(2) Ibidem. p. 225.

(3) Another proof that it was the 'Variata' that Calvin signed.

VIII GRATITUDE.

"Now, seeing that these things which the Lord has given as testimonies and seals of His grace are true, He undoubtedly performs inwardly by His Spirit that which the Sacraments figure to our eyes and other senses. In other words, we obtain possession of Christ, as the Fountain of all blessings, both in order that we may be reconciled to God by means of His death, be renewed by His Spirit to holiness of life, in short, obtain righteousness and salvation; and also in order that we may give thanks for the blessings which were once exhibited on the Cross, and which we daily receive by faith". (1)

We see that from this that to Calvin, all depends on the Invisible side of the transaction. The elements are, "Inanes Larvae", (2) separately considered, but still the Sacraments are Organs by which God works "efficaciously" where it seems good. Most plainly the Consensus Tigurinus understands by "Signs", "Seals", "Fruition of Christ", etc., something mystical and deep. It is not only a question of "Mental Processes", as Hodge and Schenkel would have it.

IX. The Signs and the Things Signified are not disjoined but Distinct. "Wherefore, though we distinguish, as we ought, between the signs and the things signified, yet we do not disjoin the reality from the sign, but acknowledge that all, who in faith embrace the promises there offered, spiritually receive Christ with His spiritual gifts, while those who had long been made partakers of Christ, continue and renew that Communion." There can be no clearer statement than this, that in the Sacrament, there is a new enhancing or increasing of living fellowship with Christ.

Before this, it was said in opposition to Zurich, that there is bound with the outward act, a real objective act of divine activity or operation.

In the following 4 articles, it is shown that a divine power is not to be ascribed to the earthly elements as such, but that the association of a divine activity with the outward act, has its ground in the Promise. God conjoins that divine activity always and contemporaneously with the outward activity.

(1) Tracts II.p. 215

(2) Consensus Tigurinus, article 11,
Tracts.II.215

X. THE PROMISE PRINCIPALLY TO BE LOOKED TO IN THE SACRAMENTS.

"AND it is proper to look not to the bare signs, but rather to the Promise thereto ascribed. As far as our faith in the promise there offered prevails, So far will that virtue and efficacy of which we speak display itself. Thus the substance of water, bread and wine, by no means offers Christ to us, nor makes us capable of His spiritual gifts. The promise rather is to be looked for, whose office it is to lead us to Christ, by the direct way of Faith - Faith which makes us partakers of Christ".

What Calvin means here is clear. He means to say that the Force of the Sacrament resides in the Promise. But what he does say is ambiguous. It almost appears as if our subjective Faith were made to be the agent that brings Christ to us, i.e. as if Christ were brought to us by an act of Faith on our part. This seems to be borne out by the "as far as--so far", and the "makes us partakers". And yet he can hardly have meant that, as he said clearly in the Expositio, (I), "For we hence infer, that acts of which the Son of God is the author, over which he presides, in which, as with outstretched hand from Heaven, He displays His virtue, are no acts of man". The explanation of the ambiguity, according to Ebrard, (2) is to be found in the introduction of Predestinarian Teaching into the Consensus, "It is in the free and sovereign determination of God to give the profitable use of the signs to whom He pleases". (3). "It was that that led him astray. But far from ascribing to the subjective action of man too much, he ascribes to it too little. Far from making a human act of Faith, the operating agency in the Sacrament, the condition for the reception of Christ in the Sacrament, he refers it directly to an Absolute and Irresistible Act of God". (2). This mingling of Predestination Doctrine with the doctrine of the Supper, is considered by Ebrard, to be a blemish on Calvin's teaching- "the only blemish it had". (2).

(1). Tracts. II. 230.

(2). Ebrard. II. 510.

(3). Tracts. II. 231.

XI. WE ARE NOT TO STAND GAZING AT THE ELEMENTS. (I).

This refutes the error of those who stand gazing on the Elements, and attach their confidence of Salvation to them; seeing that the Sacraments separated from Christ, are but empty Shows (inanes larvae), and a voice is distinctly heard throughout proclaiming that we must adhere to none but Christ alone, and seek the gift of Salvation from none but Him.

XII. THE SACRAMENTS EFFECT NOTHING BY THEMSELVES.

Besides, if any good is conferred upon us by the Sacraments, it is not owing to any proper virtue in them, even though in this you should include the Promise by which they are distinguished. For it is God alone who acts by His Spirit. When He uses the Instrumentality of the Sacraments, He neither imposes His own virtue into them, nor derogates in any respect from the effectual working of His Spirit, but, in adaptation of our weakness, uses them as helps, in such manner however that the whole power of acting remains with Him alone.

XIII. GOD USES THE INSTRUMENT BUT ALL THE VIRTUE IS HIS.

Wherefore, as Paul reminds us neither he that planteth, nor he that watereth is anything, but God alone that giveth the increase; so also it is to be said of the Sacraments that they are nothing, because they will profit nothing, unless God in all things makes them effectual. They are indeed Instruments by which God acts efficaciously when He pleases, yet so that the whole work of our salvation must be ascribed to Him alone.

XIV. THE WHOLE ACCOMPLISHED BY CHRIST.

We conclude, then, that it is Christ alone who in truth baptises inwardly, who in the Supper makes us partakers of Himself, who in short, fulfils what the Sacraments figure, and uses their aid in such manner that the whole effect resides in His Spirit.

(I). Tracts II. p. 215.f.

XV.

HOW THE SACRAMENTS CONFIRM.

Thus the Sacraments are sometimes called Seals, and are said to nourish, confirm, and advance faith, and yet the Spirit alone is properly the Seal, and also the beginner and finisher of faith. For all these attributes of the Sacraments sink down into a lower plane, so that even the smallest portion of our salvation is not transferred to creatures or elements.

The following three articles teach the necessity of a State of Faith, and Election, as the condition of receiving Christ.

XVI. ALL WHO PARTAKE OF THE SACRAMENTS DO NOT PARTAKE OF THE REALITY(I)

Besides, we carefully teach that God does not exert His power indiscriminately in all who receive the Sacraments, but only in the ELECT. For as He enlightens unto faith none but those whom He has fore-ordained unto life, so by the secret of His Spirit, He makes the Elect receive what the Sacraments offer.

XVII. THE SACRAMENTS DO NOT CONFER GRACE.

By this doctrine is overthrown the fiction of the Socinists, which teaches that the Sacraments confer grace on all who do not interpose the obstacle of mortal sin. For besides that in the Sacraments nothing is received except by actual faith, we must also hold that the grace of God is by no means so annexed to them, that whoso receives the signs also gains possession of the things. For the signs are administered alike to Elect and Reprobate, but the reality reaches the former only.

XVIII. THE GIFTS OFFERED TO ALL, BUT RECEIVED BY BELIEVERS ONLY.

It is true that Christ with His gifts is offered to all in common, and that the unbelief of all men, not overthrowing the truth of God, the Sacraments always retain their efficacy, but all are not capable of receiving Christ and His gifts. Therefore nothing is changed on the part of God, but in regard to man, each receives according to his faith.

(I). Tracts. II. 217.

These last three Articles are often taken as an indication that Calvin in this Consensus accommodated his views to suit the Swiss. We certainly have a feeling that they do not express the full content of that teaching with which we have now come to associate his name, but it can hardly be said that there is any indication of an accommodation of view. As regards the supposed point of difference with Bullinger, Calvin did not yield an iota. That the earthly elements have no efficacy of themselves and by their own force, but are seals of a concurring operation from Christ, Calvin had taught years before at Strasbourg. In the Consensus Tigurinus, he does not seem to have made the least approach to the Megandrian view. What he did in the negotiations, was to acquire a new respect for Bullinger, the head of the so-called Zwinglian Church. HE had, two years before, had nothing but hard words for the Zurich Doctrine, but he now saw, in intercourse with Bullinger, that it had something true for its object. He saw that as the truth on Luther's side was opposition to "empty figures", so the truth in Bullinger's doctrine, was the opposition to the deification of creaturely signs. This truth however, he had not now adopted for the first time. He had always possessed it in his own doctrine. That he was led then to make concessions to the so-called Zwinglianism of Bullinger in any way is a pure chimera". (2) And yet, as we have said, we have a feeling that we have not quite the same teaching in the Consensus, as in the previous works of Calvin. Is this due to a decided mingling of the doctrine of Predestination with

(1). Tracts. II. 217.

(2). Ebrard. II. 513.

Predestinarian Teaching in the Consensus Tigurinus.

the Doctrine of the Supper? Schaff (1) speaks of the "disturbing predestinarian restriction of the sacramental grace to the elect" in the Consensus, and there can be no doubt that it emphasises this side of Calvinism. It is well known that Zwingli also gave prominence to God's sovereign election, as the primary source of salvation. He and Calvin were at one in this. Bullinger(2). on the other hand, did not go as far as Calvin and Zwingli, and kept within the Infralapsarian scheme. Melanchthon declared to Lavater, (Bullinger's son-in-law), that in reading the Consensus, he, for the first time came to understand the Swiss, but he erased these passages of the Consensus which made the efficacy of the Sacrament depend on Election. (3). It is hardly necessary to state that Calvin made the eternal Election of God, the Article of the standing or the falling Church, the source of strength in the battle of life. In the 1st. Edition of the Institutes, Predestination is stated in a very simple form. Only the bright side of the doctrine, namely, the eternal election by the free grace of God in Christ, is emphasised. The dark mystery of Reprobation and Preterition is left out. At this early stage, Calvin gives the light without the shade. (4) The fuller development of his view on Predestination dates from his sojourn in Strasbourg where he wrote his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and the 2nd. Edition of the Institutes. The 9th. Chap. of Romans is the rock on which he builds his doctrine of Reprobation. About this time, when the Consensus Tigurinus was being negotiated, Calvin's mind was greatly exercised by this doctrine. His Polemical Writings against Bolsec and Pighius appeared in 1543-1551, and the Consensus Genevensis in 1552. It is not surprising then, that we should find this moment emphasised in his Sacramental Theory as defined in the Consensus Tigurinus of 1549. Ebrard who fully accepts the doctrine of the Consensus with the exception of the Predestinarian restrictions, devotes several pages to a discussion on how far Calvin's Sacramental views were coloured by his doctrine of _____

(1). Creeds of Christendom. 472.

(2). Schaff. Swiss I 210.

(3). Schaff. Creeds. 473.

(4). Schweizer Centraldogmen I 150-152.
Schaff. Swiss. I. 235.

Election. He comments on Art. 16, 17, 18, as follows. (1) "As in former writings on the Lord's Supper, we have clearly and distinctly stated by Calvin.

(a) That a divine act of communication with Christ is bound with the outward act.

(b) That a state of faith is the condition of the subjective receiving of Christ. But this state of faith was now said to be evoked and strengthened in us by an irresistible activity of the Holy Spirit. In this way Calvin came to declare:-

(1) That the faith of all who for a time had believed, and then had fallen away, was only an apparent faith. He denied that even in their state of faith, they had partaken of Christ.

(II) He also came to admit a two-fold operation of the Holy Spirit. 1st. The Holy Spirit brings Christ objectively to all communicants, and offers Him to all.

2nd. He prepares the hearts of the Elect alone, that they may subjectively receive the Christ, objectively brought to them. From that, there follows:-

3rd. That it is not only the state of faith effected, through this second activity of the Holy Spirit, but also the degree of faith evoked in this manner, according to God's choice (Willkühr), which becomes the measure how far and how efficaciously the communicant can take Christ to himself. Instead of perceiving that the weakest subjective faith, if it be sincere, receives Christ really and completely, and is then furthered to a stronger faith, instead of this, the faith which is already present before it receives Christ, is said to be strengthened through a magical irresistible working of the Holy Spirit, in order to enable it to take Christ to itself to a certain degree, (auf einen gewissen Grad). What then would avail this receiving of Christ, if faith was already previously strengthened.¹ To this question, Calvin answers all too ambiguously. Here it is not merely taught that the kind of living union which we have in the Supper, is the same that we have outside it (ausser demselben) But it is also said that the degree of union with Christ, which we have in the Supper corresponds to the degree of faith which the
(1) Ebrard II 515. ff.

Holy Spirit has previously wrought in us. And so in the 20th Article, the right sentence that the "advantage of the Supper need not take place at the same time as the partaking" (nicht temporal mit dem Genuss zusammenfallen musse), is wrongly expounded as meaning that the divine gift of grace itself, which we receive in the Sacrament, need not take place at the same time as we partake of it. "(nicht momentan mit demselben zusammenzufallen brauche)" (1) That is Ebrard's commentary on Arts. 16. 17. 18, and seems to prove our contention that at least, the Predestinarian element was emphasised by Calvin at that time and had a certain influence on his Sacramental teaching.

XIX. BELIEVERS BEFORE AND WITHOUT THE USE OF THE SACRAMENTS
COMMUNICATE WITH CHRIST.

"As the use of the Sacraments will confer nothing more than if they had abstained from them, ^{may} is only destructive to them, so without their use believers receive the reality which is there figured. Thus the sins of Paul were washed away by Baptism, though they had been previously washed away. So also Baptism was the lever of regeneration to Cornelius, though He had already received the Holy Spirit. So in the Supper, Christ communicates Himself to us, though he had previously imparted Himself, and perpetually ^{remains} in us. For seeing that each is enjoined to examine himself, it follows that faith is required of each before coming to the Sacrament". ("A state of faith indeed, but not a degree of faith, according to which the measure of our communion with Christ would have to be reckoned"). (2) Faith is not without Christ; but as far as (quatenus) faith is strengthened and increased by the Sacraments, so far are the Gifts of God confirmed in us, and thus Christ in a manner grows in us,

(1) Ebrard II. 516.

(2) do 517.

and we in Him. Here the greater or less degree of our faith is made to be a co-operating factor with the Holy Spirit in effecting our union with Christ. Certainly the one factor, the objective operation of the Holy Spirit, which brings Christ to us, is not denied, but the result depends preeminently on the other factor - on our hold on Christ. This hold on Christ, is of course, according to Calvin, also effected by the Holy Spirit, but that still leaves us with a two fold operation of the Holy Spirit.

XX. THE BENEFIT NOT ALWAYS RECEIVED IN THE ACT OF COMMUNICATING.(I)

"The advantage which we receive from the Sacraments ought by no means to be restricted to the time at which they are administered to us, just as if the visible sign at the moment when it is brought forward, brought the grace of God along with it."

(It will be noted that this general expression applies to the Substance of the Sacrament, and not merely to the Advantage we desire from it. As such it is a modification of, if not a departure from Calvin's former teaching). "For those who were baptised when mere infants, God regenerates in childhood or adolescence, occasionally even in old age. Thus the utility of Baptism is open to the whole period of life, because the promise contained in it is perpetually in force. And it may sometimes happen that the use of the Holy Supper, which, from thoughtlessness or slowness of heart, does little good at the time, afterwards bears its fruit".

If we consider the first 20 Articles of the Consensus, we cannot find traces of any surrender to Megamdranism. There is no lowering of the flag on the part of Calvin. There is certainly a decided prominence given to the doctrine of Election, in its bearing on the

(1) Tracts II. 218.

Sacramental theory. This has led, as we have seen, to the positing of a second factor as necessary for the receiving of Christ. The first factor is still the Holy Spirit, but the extent of our reception of Christ is now made to depend, not on the presence of a state of faith, but on the degree of faith which we possess before the reception takes place. This degree of faith is of course, also mediated by the Holy Spirit. As all is referred to the Holy Spirit in the last analysis, perhaps Ebrard, and others who have followed him, have laid too much emphasis on this fine distinction between the "State of Faith", (Glaubenszustand), and the "Degree of Faith" (Glaubensgrad). It is sufficient however, to state that all are agreed that we have in the Consensus Tigurinus, a document, which, generally considered, gives a faithful impression of Calvin's position on the Supper. It is not what we would call an accommodation of Lutheranism to Megandrianism, as has often been represented. It is rather a full development of Zwingli's somewhat negative theory during his middle period. We see that doctrine attaining to a richer fruition in the Melanchthon - Calvin position which, after all, is the position of the Reformed Church. We have seen that Melanchthon welcomed the Consensus Tigurinus, and had criticism only for the Articles which he considered, stressed too strongly the doctrine of Election. It is also noteworthy that in all further writings, Calvin omits the distinction between the State of Faith, and the Degree of Faith. This obliquity does not reappear in the works against Westphal and Hesshuss, nor in the final edition of the Institutes (1559). We can therefore regard it as a temporary phase of thought, occasioned by the fact that at this time, Calvin's mind was much occupied by reflections on the deep subject of eternal election and reprobation.

The last Six Articles of the Consensus deal with the refutation of the local presence, tran-substantiation, Ubiquity, the Adoration of the host.

They are interesting as revealing the common stand-point of the Swiss Churches on these important questions, but reveal no new feature of doctrine.

XXI. No Local Presence must be imagined. (1).

We must guard particularly against the idea of any local presence. For while the signs are present in this world, are seen by the eyes, and handled by the hands, Christ, regarded as man, must be sought nowhere else than in Heaven, and not otherwise than with the mind, and eye of faith. Wherefore it is a perverse and impious superstition to enclose Him under the elements of the World.

XXII. EXPLANATION OF THE WORDS. "THIS IS MY BODY". (2).

Those who insist that the formal words of the Supper- "This is My body"; "This is My blood", are to be taken in what they call the precisely literal sense, we repudiate as preposterous interpreters. For we hold it out of controversy that they are to be taken figuratively, -the bread and wine receiving the name of that which they signify - nor should it be thought a new or unwonted thing to transfer the name of things figured by Metonymy, as similar modes of expression occur throughout the Scriptures, and we by so saying assert nothing but what is found in the most ancient and the most approved writers of the Church.

XXIII. OF THE EATING OF THE BODY.

When it is said that Christ, by our eating of His flesh and drinking of His blood, which are here figured, feed our souls through faith by the agency of the Holy Spirit, we are not to understand it as if any mingling or transfusion of substance took place, but that we draw life from the flesh once offered and sacrificed, and the blood shed in expiation.

(1). Tracts. 218.

(2). do. 219.

XXIV.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION AND OTHER FOLLIES.

In this way are refuted not only the fiction of the Papists concerning Transubstantiation, but all the gross figments and futile quibbles which either derogate from His celestial glory or are in some degree repugnant to the reality of His human nature. For we deem it no less absurd to place Christ under the bread or compare Him with the bread than to transubstantiate the bread into His body.

XXV. (I). THE BODY OF CHRIST LOCALLY IN HEAVEN.

And that no ambiguity may remain when we say that Christ is to be sought in Heaven, the expression implies and is understood by us to intimate distance of place. For though philosophically speaking, there is no place above the sky, yet as the body of Christ, bearing the nature and mode of a human body, is finite and is contained in Heaven as its place, it is necessarily as distant from us in point of space as Heaven is from the earth.

XXVI. CHRIST IS NOT TO BE ADORED IN THE BREAD.

If it is not lawful to affix Christ in our imagination to the bread and wine, much less is it lawful to worship Him in the Bread. For although the bread is held forth to us as a symbol and pledge of the Communion which we have with Christ, yet it is as a Sign and not as the thing itself, and has not the thing either included in it or fixed to it. Those who turn their minds towards it, with the view of worshipping Christ, make an idol of it.

(I). Tracts II. p. 220.

Attitude of the Swiss and other Churches to the Consensus Tigurinus

There was great rejoicing, when the Consensus Tigurinus was completed.

Calvin expressed the satisfaction he felt at the influence which he knew the Consensus must exert. In a letter to Viret, he writes, "The hearts of good men will be cheered by what has taken place. Our constancy and resolution will derive new strength from it, and we shall be better able to break the power of the wicked. They who have formed an unworthy opinion of us, will see that we proposed nothing but what is good and right. Many who are still in a state of uncertainty will now know on what they ought to depend, and those in distant lands who differ from us, will soon, we hope, offer us their hand. Lastly, as it may one day happen, posterity will have a witness to our faith, which it could not have derived from parties in a state of strife, but this, we must leave to God" (1).

To Farel, Calvin frequently wrote, while the negotiations were proceeding. He says, "This unwearied champion of Christianity was the originator and leader of the whole". (2).

But Calvin had still many minds to tranquillise. He sought to satisfy Sulzer, the minister in Bern, and left nothing undone to induce one after another of his opponents to add their signature to the new formulary. In a letter to Farel, Nov. 18 1549, (3), he showed how powerfully his persuasion had wrought with all, and characteristically, he said, "Nostra sinceritate adducti nihil negabant".

"By the formulary proposed in the Consensus Tigurinus, "says Planck (4) " couched as it was in the strongest language, and intended to reconcile all parties, the union with the Swiss and Lutheran systems in the first and main point of dispute, was accomplished, and at last declared. It had hitherto been a matter of doubt whether the Swiss, in partaking of the Sacrament, recognised the actual presence of the body of Christ, according to the substance, but every kind of suspicion on the subject was now removed. The formulary sets forth

I. Mss. Geneva, Sept. 23. 1549.

II. Henry. II. p. 82.

III. Mss. Geneva,

IV. Planck Lehrbegriff. II. p. 236.

the idea of a real presence, and of an actual participation of the body of Christ in this sacrament. But it explains at the same time the nature and manner of this presence. According to Luther's doctrine, the body of Christ was miraculously present in the sacrament, and brought into such union with the outward sign of the bread and wine, that it is not only received at the same time With these, but In these, and Under these, so that it is therefore partaken of with the mouth by everyone who receives the sign, even though he is an unbeliever.

According to Calvin's opinion, on the contrary, the body of Christ is not brought down into the sacrament, but the soul of him who partakes thereof is raised by faith toward heaven, and is there brought into contract with the body of Christ, and thus made partaker of the divine life." (I).

The Consensus was forwarded to the various confederate churches, and was everywhere received with great respect. (2).

In October, it appeared in its printed form, with a letter couched in apostolic language, written by Calvin to the Zurichers. It was a grand moment for the inner life of the Church, when Melancthon and most of the Lutheran party declared their agreement with Calvin's views, and when the French Reformed and the Swiss united themselves anew, and expressed the genuine sentiments of a true and primitive brotherhood.

The epoch was no less noble in respect to the life of Calvin. As the centre of the Reformed Churches, he had rendered them the most important service, and had led them, by the knowledge of Scripture, and brotherly kindness, to truth and concord.

I. Planck, Lehrbegriff, II, p. 236. and Henry, vol II.

II. Hess, Leben Bullinger, II, p. 19.

The Swiss sent a copy to Bucer now in England and he congratulated the whole church on what had taken place.

A comparison might be drawn between the Consensus Tigurinus and the Wittenberg Concordia - not to the credit of the latter.

Luther had not the same gifts of mediation as Calvin. He began his negotiations by calling his opponents " Servants of Satan " etc, and he did not succeed in leading them to a higher development of their teaching.

When he did conclude the Concordia, he did it with a letter from the Swiss in his hand, clearly stating that they understood the doctrine in quite another sense. Calvin began his work with the brotherly recognition that his opponents had elements of truth in their teaching.

His endeavour was to lead them to a further evolution of this truth, and he succeeded in establishing a unity of doctrine which was attended with the best results.

The so-called Zwinglianism of Zurich recognised Calvinism as its higher and natural development.

In Zwingli's 1st. and 3rd. periods, we have teaching, not easy to distinguish from Calvin's riper doctrine.

Luther's zeal hindered the progress of Zwingli's thought, and the violence of Kunz provided the same bar to progress in the case of Zwingli's successors.

Calvin's honesty and sincerity awoke the slumbering seed, and brought the Zurichers to recognise that Calvin's doctrine was not the Negation, but rather the full unfolding of their own incomplete and one-sided teaching. (I).

I. Ebrard, II. p, 524. passim.

Chapter Thirteen - Pages 192 to 218.

CALVIN & WESTPHAL.

Controversy on the Lord's Supper.

Influence of the Consensus Tigurinus.

Attitude of Melanchthon to the Consensus Tigurinus.

The Anti-Melanchthon Party in Germany.

JOACHIM WESTPHAL.

John A Lasco, and his work on the Lord's Supper.

The Calvin-Westphal Writings.

The points at issue in the Calvin-Westphal Controversy.

The Calvin-Westphal Controversy in Dialogue form.

Summing up of Calvin's Teaching on the Lord's Supper
in this Controversy.

-----0-----

CHAPTER 13.

CALVIN AND WESTPHAL . CONTROVERSY ON THE LORD'S SUPPER.

The agreement in doctrine established between the Swiss and the Genevese extended its influence to France, England, Scotland and Holland. In the same manner, the union between Melanchthon and Calvin on the subject of the Lord's Supper secured the peace of the Protestant Church. There was every reason to expect its continuance till Westphal, Messhuss, and some others, designedly created a breach, and thus aroused the holy indignation of Calvin.

What excited Calvin's anxiety, was the prospect of the indescribable evils which threatened the Church through these proceedings in Germany.

In the case of a man like Luther, he could forgive anything, even when he most fiercely assailed the doctrine and rent the Church. But Westphal manifestly awakened the strife from an ignorant love of disputation. Calvin's main effort had ever been to establish concord between the two great parties in the Church. He had placed himself in the breach, that he might bind them together (1).

The Lutherans, since the year, 1536, when the Wittenberg Concordia was established, had remained satisfied with the fundamental idea of the true bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament. They regarded particular definitions of the manner in which He is present as unnecessary. It is a mistake to regard the church of the Augsburg Confession as at that time opposed to the Calvin-Melanchthon doctrine. This church was broad-minded enough to include everyone within its bounds who acknowledged a real communication of Christ in the sacrament. It had room for Luther's view of an outward communication of the body and blood, as well as for the Melanchthon-Calvin view of an act of real communion with Christ's person. It had room for what Ebrard calls (2) the "Substantia in substantia" view, and for the 'Actus in actu'; for the view which held the presence In the bread and wine, or the view which taught the presence With the bread and wine, and the ^{two}/views differed not only in the How, but also in the What, of the sacrament. It was not a question merely, whether the body and blood of Christ are partaken of Orally In the bread, I. Planck, Prot. Lehrbegriff. V.5. part 2.
II. Ebrard, II, page. 525.

Attitude of Melanchthon to the Consensus Tigurinus.

or Spiritually partaken of With the bread.

It was a question of what is communicated to us—the bodily material of the glorified body and blood, or the whole divine-human person of Christ, Whose body was once broken, and Whose blood was once shed.

Luther took the material view. Calvin and Melanchthon went deeper, and held that the glorified body is present according to its substance, power and energy.

This difference between the strictly Lutheran view and the Melanchthon-Calvin view was apparent to all, but both views were recognised, as we have said, by the Church of the Augsburg Confession.

Luther declared himself as satisfied with the "Variata" edition of the Augsburg Confession of 1540. And this "Variata" was not a mere private writing of Melanchthon. It was regarded as an official document at Worms and Ratisbon. Calvin had subscribed to it at Ratisbon, as a delegate of the Strasbourg branch of the Church of the Augsburg Confession. It is wrong then to think that the 'Variata' lacked official recognition. It gradually became more and more the official view, and Luther's particular doctrine receded into the background. Many reputable theologians embraced it, as for example, Brenz, who expressed his teaching as follows, "The Lord's Supper is a sacrament, and a divine sign, wherein Christ conveys His body and blood, and assures us therewith that we have the pardon of sins and everlasting life." (I).

Whence then came the new disputes? What was it that brought to naught the higher union of thought established through Calvin and Melanchthon? Did the cause lie in Calvin's mingling of his Predestinarian teaching in the Consensus Tigurinus? We have seen that there was a slight modification of his original thought in this document. He had there inclined to teach that our communion with Christ is increased in proportion to the strength of our faith, rather than that our faith is

(I). Hartmann and Jäger. Page 21. ff.

The Anti-Melanchthon Party in Germany.

strengthened by our renewed communion with Christ. Melanchthon had expressed no positive opinion regarding the teaching of the Consensus, but when it was sent to him for approval, he struck out the passage where the partaking of believers was interpreted as the partaking of the Elect.

Such representations on the part of Melanchthon seem to have carried weight with Calvin, for ever afterwards, he avoided the particular modifications of his teaching which were apparent in the Consensus.

The Cause of the disputes is not to be found in this connection. It had another source. It is well known that in Germany there was a school of thought which was opposed to the Philippist or Melanchthon teaching. Its supporters were mostly followers of Flacius. The Philippists represented the Humanist-Biblical element while the Flacian teaching can be characterised as Dogmatic-Monastic. (I).

These two schools had already come into conflict in the Adiaphorist Controversy. It was this Anti-Philippist or anti-Melanchthon party which caused the new troubles and disputes. But it was not against Calvin alone, not even against the Predestinarian teaching of the Consensus, in which he differed from Melanchthon, that these new antagonists directed their attack. They rather directed their polemic against the points in which Calvin and Melanchthon were agreed, so that Calvin was quite justified in resisting them. The presence of Christ in the Bread, Ubiquity, and the Partaking of unbelievers, were the three questions which the followers of Westphal regarded as all important. They so insisted on them, that not only Calvinism in Switzerland, but also Melanchthon's followers in Germany were branded as Unorthodox. This was the occasion of the raising of the so-called

(I). Ebrard. II. 541.

JOACHIM WESTPHAL.

"Reformed", and "Lutheran" Churches. We can distinguish two acts in the unfortunate drama.

1st., Westphal's Dispute with Calvin; 2nd., The Crypto-Calvinist Dispute, The first issued in the Heidelberg Catechism, (1563), and the second in the Formula of Concord (1577).

Joachim Westphal (1510-1574), a rigid Lutheran minister, who inherited the intolerance and violent temper, but none of the genius and generosity of Luther, wrote, without provocation, a tract against the Consensus Tigurinus, and against Calvin and Peter Martyr in 1552. He aimed indirectly at the Philippists (Melanchthonians), who agreed with Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper without openly confessing it, and who for this reason, were afterwards called Crypto-Calvinists. He had previously attacked Melanchthon, his teacher and benefactor, and compared his conduct in the Interim Controversy, with Aaron's worship of the Golden Calf. (1). The chief points of his teaching were, as already mentioned, that the very body of Christ was in the bread substantially that it was ubiquitous, though illocal (extra locum), and that it was partaken of by Judas no less than by Peter. He made no distinction between Calvin and Zwingli. He treated as "Sacramentarians" and Heretics all those who denied the Corporal Presence, the Oral Manducation, and the literal eating of the body of Christ with the teeth even by unbelievers. He charged them with holding no less than 28 conflicting opinions on the words of Institution, quoting extracts from Carlstadt, Zwingli, Oekolampadius, Bucer, A. Lasco, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Schwenkfeld, and chiefly from Calvin. He spoke of their godless perversions of the Scriptures, and "Satanic blasphemies". He declared that they ought to be refuted by the rod of the magistrate rather than by the pen. (2).

(1). Westphal *Historia vituli aurei Aaronis. Exodus 32 ad nostra tempora accommodata*-Magdeburg. 1549.

(2). do. *Farrago confusaneorum*--- --- de Coena Domini ex Sacramentariis libris congesta- Magdeburg 1552.

JOHN A. LASCO.

As his first attack was ignored by the Swiss, he wrote another and larger tract in 1553, in which he professed to prove the Lutheran view, chiefly from I Cor. II. 29. 30., and urged the Lutherans to resist the progress of the Zwinglian, or, as it was now called, Calvinistic heresy. (1). The style and text of his polemic may be inferred from his calling Bullinger the "Bull of Zurich", Calvin the "Calf of Geneva", and John A. Lasco, the "Polish Bear".

About the same time, in the autumn and winter of 1553, John A. Lasco a Polish nobleman, a friend of Calvin, and minister of a Reformed foreign congregation in London, fled with 175 Protestants from persecution under Queen Mary, and sought shelter on Danish and German shores. He was refused even a temporary refuge in cold winter at Helsingør, Copenhagen, Rostock, Lubeck, and Hamburg. Westphal denounced the companions of A. Lasco as martyrs of the devil. He enraged the people against them, and glorified, in the inhuman cruelty as an act of faith. (2).

John A Lasco is an interesting figure in Reformation History. He was ever an admirer of the Swiss, and when Calvin sent him a copy of the Consensus Tigurinus, he wrote a work on the Lord's Supper, in which he approved the Consensus, and hoped that by its means all controversy would be ended. (3). This writing of A Lasco's is instructive, because he treated the subject historically, and set forth some new views. After an introduction, in which he defines the proper Christian way to settle such disputes, he shows how the Romish doctrine was gradually evolved. According to him, there was originally ascribed to the bread and wine, only the Vis Significandi and afterwards, the Vis Exhibendi and Continendi. Then a union between the Signum and the Res was taught, and this gradually developed into a doctrine of Transubstantiation. He himself calls the "Res" in contrast with the "Signum", the

(1). Westphal-Recta fides de Coena Domini, Magdeburg, 1553.

(2). do -Simplex and fidelis narratio. Basel. 1560.

(3). John A Lasco - Brevis and dilucida de sacramentis ecclesiae Christi tractatio. London. 1560.

"Mysterium" and shows how the Gospel writers are at one in asserting that in the Lord's Supper, the "Mysterium", i.e. the partaking of the Body and Blood, is added to the "Signum". Only about the manner of this addition is there any dispute. Some taught a presence, (not local, nor natural, but definitive) of the Mysterium in the "Signum". Some taught the union of the two by means of priestly consecration. Others taught a union of Christ with the soul through the operation of the Holy Spirit. (1) This Union - the Mystery of the Lord's Supper, - does not consist in an oral partaking of the body and blood of Christ. The Holy Spirit rather transports the soul of man into Heaven, and Christ there bestows upon the communicant Himself, i.e. His Flesh and Blood, His Righteousness, His Saving Power and also the Seed-Corn of His Resurrection. But the "Signum" is ~~not~~ to be found in the visible action of eating the bread and wine. A parallel instance is that of Circumcision, where, not the Foreskin, but the cutting of the foreskin is the sign. The "TOUTO" in the words of Institution is not related to the bread, but to the transaction of the giving and receiving of the bread. "If this exegesis was untenable", as Ebrard says, "Yet we have here a clear statement of the ACTIO IN ACTIONE." (1).

From this brief statement of A Lasco's doctrine, we can readily understand that Calvin would find in him a congenial spirit. He was naturally indignant at the treatment which he had received from Westphal and his ~~and~~ friends. He felt himself in a manner, called to his defence. He had all the more justification in that his own doctrine was assailed.

(1) Ebrard II. 534.

THE CALVIN - WESTPHAL WRITINGS.

He took up his sharp and racy pen in three successive pamphlets. He at first wished to issue a joint remonstrance of the Swiss Churches and sent a hasty draft to Bullinger. But Zurich, Basel and Bern, found it too severe and refused to sign it. He corrected the Draft and published it under his own name under the title, "Defence of the Sound and Orthodox Doctrine on the Sacraments, as laid down in the Consensus Tigurinus (Geneva 1555)". Westphal replied in a tract thrice as large, "Collectanae sententiarum Augustini de Coena Domini - 1555". In the year 1556, Calvin wrote his "Second Defence, contra Westphali calumnias".

Westphal again took up the pen in 1557, in the writing "Clarissimi veri Philippi Melanchthonis sententia de coena domini", in which he sought to prove that Calvin and Melanchthon were not at one. Thereafter also in 1557, Calvin issued his "Ultima Admonitio ad Joachinum Westphalum" in which it was his aim to show his complete agreement with Melanchthon. Westphal continued the controversy, but Calvin kept silent and handed him over to Beza. In our treatment of this second Sacramental War of the 16th Century, we do not propose to deal with the controversial writings as we dealt with those of Zwingli and Luther in the years 1524 - 1529. In that first controversy, there was a real movement and development of teaching. It was then, that both Luther's and Zwingli's doctrines attained definiteness and precision. Here, in the Westphal Controversy, there were too fully developed systems of doctrine in conflict with each other. Flacian Lutheranism which resembled Megandrianism in its rigidity, was here determined

The Points at issue in the Calvin - Westphal Controversy.

to beat to the dust all that pertained to Melanchthon - Calvinism. We also know that at the end of the controversy, neither side had advanced a hairbreadth nearer to the position of the other. In connection with the conflict, there are only two questions of importance for this thesis.

1st. How exactly Westphal's doctrine was related to that of Luther?

2nd. Did Calvin set forth in this period of the Fifties, the same teaching as in the Consensus Tigurinus, or did he return to his original testimony?

It is undoubted that Westphal was genuinely Lutheran in his doctrine of the Supper. He contended for three Lutheran features.

(a). The local presence in the Bread and Wine.

(b). Ubiquity.

(c). The partaking by unbelievers.

Luther had certainly maintained all these. He did so in opposition to a view which he supposed to be the view of Zwingli. This view laid little stress on the mystical union with Christ and regarded the eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ as identical with believing in his death. Bread and wine were only signs of Christ's death. Luther opposed to this teaching the local presence and oral manducation, but at the heart of his doctrine, there was the real conviction that in the transaction of the Lord's Supper, there is a divine act of Christ, a new communication of Christ to us, and especially a mystical union with the Lord. These truths were enclosed in an outer shell of frail and questionable substance.

Calvin and Melanchthon were at one in acknowledging these spiritual truths. Where they differed from Luther was merely in the question of the value of the outer shell. They practically rejected it, and regarded it as worthless. Westphal now came forward and contended for this outer shell. What in Luther's teaching was a mere Scholastic scaffolding and apparatus, he regarded as the edifice

itself. It did not dawn on him that in all essential things, Luther and Calvin and Melanchthon were at one. The method of his polemic was most objectionable. He did not understand, or did not wish to understand what his opponents really taught regarding communion with Christ. Calvin had expressed himself most clearly on the subject. He had never spoken of an Communicatio Imaginaria in and through ^{the} thoughts, or subjective belief. He had always contended for a real communication of Christ through the objective activity of the Holy Spirit. But Westphal always accused him of teaching a spiritual communion, through the subjective spirit and thoughts in opposition to a real communion. He accused him of holding that "to eat the body of Christ" is the same as "believing" with the mind. He accused him of teaching bare Megandrianism, clothed in ambiguous words and terms. The allegation might be made that Calvin had given Westphal some grounds for his complaint. In the Consensus Tigurinus, we have seen that there was a slight departure from his original teaching, but nowhere did he say that it was an act of faith that brought Christ to us. Ebrard has discussed this question most minutely, and has set in contrast the three forms of teaching.(1)

I. Calvin's original doctrine with which Melanchthon was agreed.

II. The teaching of the Consensus Tigurinus.

III. The teaching that Westphal credited to him.

I. There was the teaching of Calvin in his earlier writings: in which he set forth that in the Supper, the whole divine-human Christ is really, objectively, and afresh communicated to us in a non-local manner, but in a manner above all the limits of space. On our part, nothing is necessary but that a state of faith (Glaubenszustand), be

(1) Ebrard II. p. 549

present and continue, i.e. that it be not interrupted in the moment of communion by frivolity or thoughtlessness. But a particular degree of faith is not demanded, either for the first reception of Christ, or for the renewed reception of Him. On the contrary, it is said that the renewed communication of Christ, effects an increase and a strengthening of our weak state of faith. But on no account is it an act of faith which effects the communication of Christ to us.

II. The teaching of the Consensus of Zurich is this. (1) In the Holy Supper, the whole divine-human Christ is really, objectively and afresh communicated to us in an illocal manner. On our part, it is not only necessary that a state of faith be present and continue for the reception of Christ Who is objectively communicated to us, but the measure, how much and how far we receive Christ into ourselves, depends on the degree of faith that we possess at the time of reception. But it is not our act of faith (Glaubensthat) which, (in that it transports us to Heaven), brings to pass the union with Christ.

III. The teaching that Westphal ascribes to Calvin is this. (2)

In the Lord's Supper, through the renewed remembrance of Christ, our subjective faith is strengthened and in this strengthening of faith, the soul transports itself in believing thought to Christ in Heaven, and is thereby, spiritually anew united with Him. The act of faith thus makes the Sacrament to be a Sacrament.

From this resumé, we see that even the teaching of the Consensus Tigurinus is widely different from the teaching that Westphal ascribes to Calvin, and that even had he continued to hold the positions there maintained, he would have given little justification for the attacks that were levelled against him.

But in the new defensive writings in controversy with Westphal,

(1). Ebrard. II p. 549.

(2) do p. 550.

Calvin returns to his original testimony with which Melanchthon had been in fullest agreement. He repeats for example his old teaching on the objective communication of Christ, and he actually modifies what he had said of faith as a Condition of Reception in the Consensus Tigurinus. The Teaching of the Three Treatises (1st., 2nd., and last) against Westphal is all of a piece. There is no difference in standpoint between the first and the last. It would be tedious to comment on them seriatim, and we content ourselves with reproducing in dialogue form a condensed statement of the chief topics of discussion.

We are to imagine Calvin and Westphal *vis-a-vis*.

The Calvin-Westphal Controversy- In dialogue form;

WESTPHAL. Here we have it at last. An open Confederation with the Helvetians! What is this Consensus Tigurinus but a barefaced transition to the camp of the accursed Zwinglians, a crafty compromise with Bullinger, which goes to undermine the whole course of Lutheran Protestantism in favour of its enemies? And yet you have professed to stand in the bosom of Lutheran Protestantism; to be a true friend to the Augsburg Confession. Before all Germany, I proclaim you, John Calvin, a hypocrite and a traitor.

CALVIN. Your charge is false. I am guilty in this case of no duplicity and no change. My relation to Lutheranism remains what it was ten years ago. To one part of Luther's Sacramental theory, I never could assent.

But the mystery itself which it sought to maintain, had my full faith.

As for the person of the great Reformer also, I have ever cherished the most profound reverence and regard. I might easily prove moreover that Luther himself looked upon my views with favour. Let

Philip Melanchthon however be my one voucher, in place of all others (1).

We have been of one mind here, and are of one mind still. I did subscribe the Augsburg Confession at Strasbourg taking it in its generally acknowledged sense, as settled by the authority of its illustrious framer, the excellent Melanchthon himself, and to this subscription I still adhere, without any sort of mental reservation whatever. (2).

WESTPHAL. A fine story truly; when we see you walking arm in arm with the Zwinglians, and passing yourself off as one of them.

CALVIN. All turns again on your own hasty construction. I have always set my face openly against the view commonly laid to Zwingli's charge, by which the idea of an actual communication with Christ's life is excluded from the Mystery of the Lord's Supper. This I have not hitherto hesitated to stigmatise as absolutely profane, and I trust that I shall never cease to regard it in the same light. The Consensus Tigurinus however proceeds on the supposition throughout that the proper Helvetic faith involves nothing really of this sort, and it is an effort simply to carry it out, by suitable explanation and definition, to such a full statement, as might serve to relieve it from this reproach, and set it in a correct light before the Christian world. The statement is no act of subscription, of course, to the

(1). 2nd. Work Adv, Westphal, Opera. IX. page 661. Tracts III page 253. "Nay what opinion Luther himself formed of me after he had inspected my writings, can be proved by competent witnesses, One will serve me for many - Philip Melanchthon".

(2). "Nor indeed do I repudiate the Augsburg Confession, which I long ago (pridem) willingly and gladly subscribed in the sense interpreted by its author". Letter to Schaling, 25 March. 1557. Quoted by Henry II. p. 294.

system of Luther strictly so called. I have always rejected that, and it is openly rejected also in the Consensus. But the instrument is not for this reason a simple falling over to the opposite extreme. It is fairly and truly a bond of union and peace, between the Helvetic Churches, and the faith of the Augsburg Confession.

WESTPHAL. Nonsense! You do not pretend that the Consensus agrees with the Augsburg Confession!

CALVIN. Take the tenth Article of this last Confession in the sense of its author, without any Popish perversion or gloss, and I contend that the Sacramental doctrine of the two instruments is in truth the same. (I).

WESTPHAL. You can hardly expect the world to give you credit for honesty, and plain dealing in this business. You have been playing a game. You carry two faces.

CALVIN. God knows that this is not the case. I have had no worldly interest to serve, and I have used no concealment nor reserve. On the contrary, I have tried always to be both candid and clear, as far as language would admit; and it will be found, I think, that few men have taken more pains to let their position be known, or have less differed from themselves with the progress of time. My views now are just what they were stated to be twenty years ago in the first edition of the

(I). Though I said that we comprehended in our agreement what the Confession of Augsburg contains, this is no ground for charging me with deceit; for I subscribe to the words there quoted. As to their meaning, since Westphal is no competent judge, to whom can I better appeal than to the author himself? If he declares that I deviate in the smallest from his idea, I will immediately submit. The case is different with Luther. I have always candidly declared what I felt wanting in his words, so far am I from having bound myself to them. Opera. IX. page 667. Tracts p. 276. -277. 2nd. Adv. Westphal.

Institutes. (I).

WESTPHAL. Be it so then! It only shows that you have been all along a false teacher. For only look at this Consensus Tigurinus. It evacuates the Sacraments of their mystical force, and turns them into mere void signs.

CALVIN. That is a gross slander. Both the Consensus and the Exposition attached to it, most distinctly affirm the contrary. (2)

WESTPHAL. You make the elements mere signs.

CALVIN. Signs certainly, but by no means naked and empty signs. Christ uses here no false colours.

(1). What I justly claim for myself is, that I never by employing an ambiguous form of expression, captiously brought forward anything different from my real sentiment. 2nd. Adv. Westphal. Tracts II. 253. But the reader will find that nothing has been my greater care than, in absence of all ambiguity, to deliver distinctly what I daily profess and teach in the Church, and what God is my best witness and judge that I firmly believe. 2nd, Adv. Westphal. Tracts. p. 279.

(2). We uniformly testify in our writings, that the Sacraments which the Lord has left us as seals and testimonies of His grace, differ widely from empty figures. Our agreement distinctly declares, that the Lord, who is true, performs inwardly by His Spirit, that which the Sacraments figure to the eye, and that when we distinguish between the signs and the thing signified, we do not disjoin the reality from the signs. This view is followed out more fully and clearly in my Defence. 2nd. Adv. Westphal. Tracts. p. 274.

CALVIN. The verities represented by the Power of God are made to go along with the signs, The last divinely certify the presence of the first. (1).

The things represented are at the same time exhibited or presented. That is to say, they are made to be actually at hand.

WESTPHAL. Exhibited, you mean, in the way of image or picture, but not as they are in their own nature. You explicitly deny, in the case of the Lord's Supper, the actual presence in any way of Christ's body and blood, materially considered, along with the bread and wine by which they are represented.

CALVIN. Certainly, I have always rejected and reject still, most firmly the idea of every sort of presence here, that is to be regarded as local or material, or that may be made to fall within the experience and measure of mere nature as such. But this by no means implies that the realities signified by the symbols are absent, or that they are at hand only by way of picture, When I acknowledge this exhibition or presentation in the Sacrament, my meaning is always that they are made to be actually present in the whole power of their own proper nature, only not in the way of sense, but in a higher way. (2).

(1). "But according to us, the bread means body in such a sense, that it effectually and in reality invites us to communion with Christ. For we say that the reality which the promise contains is there exhibited and that the effect is annexed to the external symbol. The Trope, therefore, by no means makes void the sign, but rather shows how it is not void". Opera. IX. p. 667. Tracts p. 275. 2nd. Adv. Westphal.

(2). Thus the bread is not the empty picture of an absent thing, but a true and faithful pledge of our union with Christ. Some one will say that the symbol of bread does not shadow forth the body of Christ, any otherwise than a lifeless statue represents Hercules or Mercury, This fiction is certainly not less remote from our doctrine, than profane is from sacred. Opera IX. 667. Tracts p. 276. 2nd. Defence.

The Son of God promises to give His body and we at once give full credit to His word. And although carnal sense murmurs, and nature receives not a sublime mystery, wonderful even to angels, yet we firmly believe that He, by His celestial energy, accomplishes what the visible symbol figures. Opera. IX. p. 672. Tracts p. 297.

WESTPHAL. All is made to depend at last, however, on the exercises of the worshipper. The verities exhibited are present only in thought and contemplation, as these enter with the action of faith.

CALVIN. I mean not so. The verities are at hand objectively, the inward grace in the outward transaction. Faith is only the condition, not the cause, of our mystical participation of Christ in the Supper. God forbid, that I should think of turning the process into a mere mental exercise of any kind! (I).

(I) My writings everywhere proclaim, that eating differs from faith, inasmuch as it is an effect of faith. I did not begin only three days ago to say that we eat Christ by believing, because being made truly partakers of Him, we grew up into one body, and have a common life with Him. Years have now elapsed since I began, and I have never ceased to repeat this. How base then it was of Westphal, while my words distinctly declare that eating is something else than believing, impudently to obtrude, what I strenuously deny, upon his readers, as if it had been actually uttered by me. --- Of the same nature is his next assertion, that if my words are taken, to eat the body of Christ is equivalent to receiving the promise by faith. How dare he so prostitute himself! Opera. IX page 669. Tracts, page 283, 2nd Adv Westphal.

WESTPHAL. Still you will have it, that the presence is altogether spiritual, and any objective force you may allow to the transaction, will be found to resolve thus into the mere agency of the Holy Ghost, exciting faith, love and other graces.

CALVIN. Spiritual the process is, as distinguished from your crass conception of an oral manducation. The mystery centres in ^{and} the soul, is wrought by the vivific power of the Holy Ghost, under a mode of existence that transcends all natural experience and conception. But it is not a mere influence. The spirit actually binds Christ and His people into one life; not as a river may join two cities which are many miles apart, by merely flowing through both; but as being the very form and medium, under and by which the life of the first is made to pass over into the second(I).

WESTPHAL. The communion you think of in this way, must be regarded as holding at last only with the divine nature in Christ, if it be allowed to have any reality at all; for your theory completely excludes the presence of His body.

(I) Our exposition is, that the body of Christ is spiritually eaten by us, because He vivifies our souls in the very manner in which our bodies are invigorated; only we exclude a transfusion of substance. According to Westphal, the flesh of Christ is not vivifying unless its substance is devoured -- For I do not simply teach that Christ dwells in us by His Spirit, but that He so raises us to Himself as to transfuse the vivifying vigour of His flesh into us.

Opera IX. page 669. Tracts¶ p. 283 - 286. 2nd Adv. Westphal.

CALVIN. It does so only in a local and material view, but not at all as regards living power and force. The Communication which we have with Christ, in the Sacrament, is by no means limited to His divine nature, but extends to His Humanity also; as the real seat and fountain for our dying world. In this sense it is, we are said to eat His flesh and drink His blood unto everlasting life. (I).

WESTPHAL. You take the word body in an ambiguous sense, for all that you allow in the end, is that we partake of Christ's benefits, which, as they are procured by His sufferings in the body, may be spoken of under the name of His flesh and blood. But all runs out in this way into a bold metaphor. You substitute in your mind an imagination only for the true and proper body of our Blessed Lord.

CALVIN. I never confound the benefits which we have by Christ with the idea of His life. It is idle to remind us then that His merits and benefits are not His body. The insinuation that this is all I mean by the communion of His body, His flesh and His blood, is purely gratuitous, and does me gross injustice.

(2). I own no fiction nor metaphor whatever, in the case. The body of which we partake in the blessed sacrament, is the same

(I) Thus I teach that Christ, though absent in body, is nevertheless present with us by His divine energy, which is everywhere diffused, but also makes His flesh give life to us.

Opera IX p. 669. Tracts p. 285. 2nd Adv. Westphal.

(2) Westphal objects that the merits or benefits of Christ are not His body. But why does He maliciously extenuate the force of an expression by which I highly extol our communion with Christ?

For I not only say that His merits are applied, but that our souls receive nourishment from the very body of Christ in the same way as the body eats earthly bread.

Opera IX. p. 668. Tracts II. p 280-281. 2nd Adv. Westphal.

that once hung upon the Cross, and is now glorified in Heaven.
(I).

WESTPHAL. And yet you will not hear of this being present in the Sacrament, but hold it to be absent from us by an immense distance. How then can we be said to partake of it in any real way?

CALVIN. The whole is a mystery, as I have said before, in the sphere of the Spirit. Dynamically and organically things may be joined together in the most intimate unity, which at the same time are wide apart in space. Christ's body remains indeed always in Heaven, but by the power of the Holy Ghost, as something which transcends all local and mechanical mysteries, not only His divine life, as this is present in all places, but the proper life of His body also, the quickening vigour of His flesh and blood, is made to pass into the souls of His people, as a true aliment of immortality.(2)

(I) He rejoins, that I am deceiving by using the term "body" in an ambiguous sense. But I thought I had sufficiently obviated such cavils by so often repeating, that it was the true and natural body which was offered on the Cross. Opera IX p. 657. Tracts¶p. 238. Mutual Consent.

(2) From the hidden fountain of the Godhead, life was miraculously infused into the body of Christ, that it might flow from hence to us. Opera IX. 657. Tracts¶p. 258. 2nd Defence.

Thus I teach that Christ, though absent in the body, is nevertheless, not only present with us by His divine energy, which is everywhere diffused, but also makes His flesh give life to us. For, seeing He penetrates to us by the secret influence of His Spirit, it is not necessary, as we have elsewhere said, that He should descend bodily.

Opera IX. p. 669. Tracts¶p. 285. 2nd Defence.

WESTPHAL. You confess this, however, to be only for the soul or the mind of the communicant, not for His body.

CALVIN. Not for the body indeed in a direct and outward way, as your theory requires, but just as little for the mind either, separately considered, Soul and mind are not the same thing. I mean by the soul, the central principle of our whole life, which in the end reaches out to the body also no less than to the spirit. In this way, Christ is the true food, by which our whole nature is nourished unto immortality. (I).

WESTPHAL. A purely spiritual transaction thus, and nothing more, is made to stand for the whole mystery. The flesh of Christ, with you, is not present in the Supper. You do not allow an actual giving and receiving of His body.

CALVIN. The presence is spiritual, allow me to repeat, only as it is not material and local; but not at all in any such sense, as may be taken to overthrow its reality. As regards this, there is no difference or debate. I freely allow here what the sacrament requires, an actual participation in Christ's body and blood, and this, without any sort of metaphor, or rhetorical fiction. Only I cannot yield to your view of the Mode, in which this is brought to pass, for it seems to me to be at war with the very object of the mystery itself, and I see no reason in the Bible or elsewhere, for its being made to hang so exclusively on so gross a conception, but every reason rather for insisting on a higher view.

(I). Nunc anima est quae corpus vivificat, ne sit mortuum cadaver; ergo ab ea jure denominationem sumit. Post resurrectionem vero praestantior erit vis illa vivifica, quam a Spiritu accipiet.
Comm. on Ep. I. ad Cor. 15.44.

CALVIN. donation. (I).

WESTPHAL. It is a plain case, however, that what is given and taken in the Sacrament, as you hold it, is not the real matter of Christ's body, but something else. You will not allow that we partake of His substance.

CALVIN. Not of the outward material of His nature certainly in any way, but still of its actual substantial life; the vivific virtue of His true flesh and blood. Put away the crass thought of a manducation of the flesh, as though it were to enter the stomach by the mouth as common food, and there is no reason to deny that we are fed with Christ's flesh substantially. His body remains in Heaven, nevertheless, life flows out from its very substance, and reaches down into the persons of its people, just as the substance of the head passes over continually to the members of the natural body. (2).

WESTPHAL. You are a perfect eel, Sir, as all the world may see; slimy and slippery to the very tail. There is no such thing as holding

(I). But when I say that Christ descends to us by His virtue, I deny that I am substituting something different, which is to have the effect of abolishing the gift of the body, for I am simply explaining the Mode in which it is given.

Opera. IX. p. 668. Tracts. p. 279. 2nd. Defence.

(2). Should anyone raise a dispute as to the word "Substance", we assert that Christ, from the substance of His flesh, breathes life into our souls; nay, infuses His own life into us, provided always that no transfusion of substance be imagined.

Opera. IX. p. 660. Tracts. p. 248. 2nd, Defence.

WESTPHAL: you fast. (I). Your "Virtue" and "Vigour" of Christ's body resolve themselves when all is said, into the idea of a mere influence proceeding from Him, through the Spirit, and mean simply the efficacy and value of His death, made available for our benefit by God, and so appropriated on our side by faith.

CALVIN. Miserable Misrepresentation! How often must I protest against your trick of turning my words into a sense, which they openly disown? Have I not said in all possible ways, that Christ must be distinguished from the fruits He brings to pass, and that He must go before them also in the way of actual and real, appropriation on the part of His people? Christ first, and only then, His merits and benefits. By "Virtue", and "Efficacy", here, I understand always the essential living force of the Redeemer's body, once slain and now in Heaven; as I use the word "Vigour", also to express its actual power and substance, the very sap of the heavenly constitution. This in its

(I). In this doctrine, I still persist, and therefore Westphal is no less ignorant than unjust, in comparing me to an eel. What does he find dubious or equivocating in the doctrine, that the body of Christ is truly spiritual food, by whose substance our souls are fed and live, and that this is fulfilled to us in the Supper not less really than it is figured by the external symbols? Only let no one falsely imagine that the body is, as it were, brought down from Heaven, and enclosed in the bread, This exception offends Westphal. and he explains that I am an eel, which cannot be held by its tail.

Opera IX. p. 667. Tracts. p. 278. 2nd. Defence.

CALVIN. glorified state is all "Life and Spirit", a body of course still; but not such as belongs to our present mortal condition. It is capable thus of reaching over, by the Spirit, and we may say also in the Spirit into the souls of His people on earth; as the head is able to live itself, in a lower sphere, with its members, or the root into its branches independently of all local contract! (1).

WESTPHAL. Clouds! Clouds! Spare us, if you please, those transcendental flights. We have no wings, to soar to regions so high and rare. Seriously, we do not want to philosophise in the matter. Let us stick to the plain sense of the Bible. What is the voice of reason, with its carnal perplexities and plausibilities, over against the voice of Christ? (2).

(1). Because I say, that Christ dwelling in us raises us to Himself, and transfuses the life-giving vigour of His flesh into us, just as we are invigorated by the vital warmth of the rays of the sun, and again, that Christ, while remaining in Heaven, descends to us by His virtue, he charges me with overturning the faith of the Church, as if I were denying that Christ gives us His body. But when I say that Christ descends to us by His virtue, I deny that I am substituting something different, which is to have the effect of abolishing the gift of His body.

Opera IX. p 668. Tracts. II p. 229. Mutual Consent.

(2). There is no ground for what Westphal trumpets forth with regard to a conflict between theology and philosophy. For it is not philosophy which dictates to us either that human flesh is endued with spiritual virtue, so as to give life to our souls, or that this life breathes from Heaven, or that we gain effectual possession of the same life under the external symbol of bread. Nothing of the kind lies within the reach of common sense, or can come forth from schools of philosophy.

Opera. IX. p. 670. Tracts# p. 289. 2nd. Defence.

CALVIN. I would a hundred times rather die, than weigh the smallest single word of Christ against the whole world of philosophy. My theology comes from another quarter. It is not philosophy which teaches either that human flesh is endowed with life-giving virtue, or that this life breathes from Heaven, or that we come into possession of it efficaciously under the outward symbol of bread. Nothing of the sort falls in with common sense, or comes forth from the philosophical schools. The word of Him who founded the Sacrament, is held up to us in opposition. But what is it that He says? That He gives us His own body. This promise I reverently embrace, not stopping in what is before the eyes only, the mere bread and wine, but accepting by faith, the life itself, which, proceeding from Christ's flesh and blood, is secretly conveyed into our very souls. The charge of substituting philosophy for God's word, holds in truth only against the other side. It is Westphal who theorises here, not Calvin! (I).

(I). I would rather perish a hundred times than put one little word of Christ into the balance, and counterweigh it by the whole body of philosophy, as Westphal demands. Unjustly, therefore, does Westphal charge us with leaning more on the dictates of philosophy than on the Word of God. I in my turn, admonish him to lay aside his petulance, and allow himself to be instructed in the genuine meaning of the WORD of GOD. If he will not, I must leave him and the phantom which he absurdly discovers in the words of Christ.

Opera. IX. p. 670.

Tracts. 4p. 290. 2nd. Defence.

WESTPHAL. It is fine for you to talk in that style! Your theory is made up of speculation; and is so full of riddles and speculations that a plain Bible Christian, like myself, must puzzle himself in vain to say what it means. It may be questioned whether you understand your own meaning.

CALVIN. God knows the simplicity and honesty of my faith, while I am not ashamed freely to acknowledge here the helplessness of my poor understanding. St. Paul himself, pronounces the whole subject a "great mystery". So I feel it to be in my inmost soul. My faith bows before it in childlike homage.

The above dialogue reproduces the argument of Westphal and Calvin, omitting the personalities exchanged between the two in the course of the heated controversy. We cannot but recognise that in his dealing with his adversary, Calvin returns to the clearer testimony of his earlier writings. We shall have occasion later to refer to the Westphal-Calvin literature, when we shall discuss the charge of Ambiguity, and Inconsistency that is so often levelled against our writer, for it is in these controversial treatises of Calvin, that we find his teaching in its clearest and most definite form. Doumergue has noted (1) this fact, and remarks how in the Second Sacramental War, "Calvin was forced to enter into less abstract explanations of his doctrine." Stähelin (2) has summarised that doctrine in a series of propositions which can all be substantiated by reference to the passages which we have quoted as our authority for this short, imaginary dialogue.

(1). Doumergue. Vol. 5. Page 358.

(2). I Page 222.

Summing up of Calvin's Teaching on the Lord's Supper in this Controversy.

- I. In the action of the Lord's Supper, there is a real objective communication of Christ to the participants.
- II. Bread and Wine are Pledges of the certainty of this communication by virtue of the promise that Christ is willing to communicate Himself anew, as often as the Sacrament is celebrated.
- III. That which Christ communicates, is Himself, according to His Godhead, and Manhood, spirit and body.
- IV. From the substance of His glorified body, which is essentially Power (Kraft), there comes, a real energy, a living Energy, into the centre (Mittelpunkt) of our immortal being or soul.
- V. This takes place in no local fashion, as if this power moved through the space between Christ and us. It takes place illocally by an Almighty act of the Holy Ghost.
- VI. We have therefore not to seek Christ locally in the Bread, but to raise our minds and thoughts to Him in Heaven, and to expect this communication from there.
- VII. This objective communication is not effected through an act of faith on our part, but rather through an Almighty act of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost.
- VIII. It depends not on the degree of faith which we possess, but it takes place even if the communicant is positively godless.
- IX. But only they who are in a state of faith, (Glaubenszustand), can receive the Christ, who communicates Himself to us.
- X. The others repel Him and His real communication, while the former whatever degree of faith they possess, are advanced therein through the new communication of Christ, (I).

(I). Stähelin. II. page 222.

CHAPTER....FOURTEEN. Pages 219 to 251

Calvin's Final Teaching on the Lord's Supper.

The Third Edition of the Institutes 1559.

Calvin and Hesshuss.

De Vera Participatione.

The Best Means of Attaining Concord.

Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper in a
Series of Propositions.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN.

Calvin's Final Teaching.

EDITION OF THE INSTITUTES OF 1559.

We have now come to the 3rd Edition of the Institutes (1) (that of Geneva of 1559), a "work as new, compared with that of 1539, as the latter was new, compared with that of 1536. "(2) It is the ripe fruit of Calvin's doctrine, free from the Obliquities of the Consensus Tigurinus. It is not an Irenical writing, (Friedenschrift), for, as Wernle says, it clearly shows that all Calvin's efforts towards mediation have been frustrated and shattered (es lässt deutlich erkennen dass Calvin's Versöhnungsplan gescheitert ist.) (3) Here he states his doctrine in clear and unequivocal terms. The bitterness of the attacks of Westphal and his followers have left a deep mark upon his soul. And yet, it is the pure milk of Calvin's doctrine that we have set before us, in 1559. Stähelin (4) has shown by lengthy quotations that the teaching on the Lord's Supper in the editions of 1536 and 1559 are the same in essence. In the later edition, however, we have a more exhaustive treatment of the subject. In 1559, Calvin places in the forefront the question of the END AND REASON for the Institution of the Supper. The burning question as to how Christ's body is present, he characterises as vain and curious (auf das Konto der Neugier) (5). He discusses this only after the religious worth of the Sacrament has been clearly stated.

I. THE END FOR WHICH OUR LORD INSTITUTED THIS HOLY SACRAMENT.

1st. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper exhibits to us the meaning and importance of the death of Christ.

"After God has once received us into His family, it is not that He may regard us in the light of servants, but of sons. He provides for our maintenance during the whole course of our life. And not contented with this, He has been pleased by a pledge, to assure us of His continued liberality. To this end, He has given another Sacrament to His Church by the hand of His only begotten Son,

(1) Joannis Calvini Institutio Christianae Religionis. A. Tholuck Chapter 17, pages 400-441. Donzé - La sainte cène d'après Calvin. Strasbourg 1857

(2) Doumergue II.8

(3) Wernle John Calvin p. 114.

(4) Stähelin - John Calvin I. p.69

(5) Wernle p. 105.

viz., a spiritual feast, at which Christ testifies that He Himself is Living Bread. First, then, the signs are bread and wine, which represent the spiritual food which we receive from the body and blood of Christ. - - - God continually supplies the food by which He may sustain and preserve us in the life to which He has begotten us by His Word. Moreover, Christ, is the only food of our souls, and, therefore, our Heavenly Father invites us to Him, that refreshed by Him, we may ever and anon gather new vigour, until we reach the Heavenly immortality. - - - We now, therefore, understand the END which the mystical benediction has in view, viz., to assure us that the body of Christ was once sacrificed for us, so that we may now eat it, and eating, feel within ourselves the efficacy of that one sacrifice - that His blood was once shed for us so as to be our perpetual drink" (1).

2nd. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is a testimony that we form one body in Christ, and that everything which is His, we may call our own. Christ becomes our property. (2) This is a fact of which we have in this Sacrament quite as striking a proof as if Christ himself were placed in bodily presence before our view, or handled by our hands. Christ is our spiritual food. He is the Bread of Life. Thanks to these words which cannot deceive us, "Take, eat and drink. This is my body which is broken for you. This is my blood which is shed for the remission of your sins," We have an assurance, not only that Christ's body and blood are ours, but that they are ours for the nourishment of our spiritual life. (3) "For when bread is given us as a symbol of the body of Christ, we must immediately think of the following similitude. As bread nourishes, sustains and protects our bodily life; so the body of Christ is the only food to invigorate and keep alive

(1) Tholuck. 401 Section I. Cpf Commentary on Luke XXII. 19
Also De Coena.

(2) Destrech. page 19.

(3) Tholuck. 402 Section 3

the soul. When we behold wine set forth as symbol of the blood, we must think that such use as wine serves to the body, the same is bestowed spiritually by the blood of Christ; and the use is to foster, refresh, strengthen and invigorate. And if we duly consider what profit we have gained by the Breaking of His Sacred Body and the Shedding of His Blood, we shall clearly perceive that these properties of bread and wine, agreeably to this analogy, must appropriately represent it, when they are communicated to us".

(1) The importance of the Sacrament does not reside then simply in the Holding Forth of the Body of Christ, in His corporal presence, but rather in the confirmation of the promise whereby he testifies to us that He is the Bread of Life. "The Bread which I will give, is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." It is always to be remembered then, that the Bread of Life draws all its nutriment from His sufferings and from His death and also its permanent value.

II. HOW THE BENEFITS OF THE SACRAMENT BECOMES OURS.

The next section discusses the application of the benefits offered to us by Christ. The Gospel applies these benefits, but the Lord's Supper does it more clearly. Christ there offers Himself to us with all His benefits and blessings and we receive Him in faith. We are not to suppose that the Supper makes Christ for the first time the Bread of Life. It calls to remembrance rather that Christ was made the Bread of Life that we may constantly eat Him, and it gives us a taste and relish for that Bread, and makes us feel its efficacy. Once and for all Christ gave Himself and became the Bread of Life, when he gave Himself, to be crucified for the redemption of the world. Daily he gives Himself, when in the Word of the Gospel, he offers Himself to be partaken by us and seals that offer by the sacred mystery of the Supper. "He there accomplishes inwardly, what he externally designates".

(3) Hitherto, Calvin has been speaking in general terms, but

(1) Tholuck. 402. Sections 3 and 4.
 (2) do 403. Section 5.
 (3) do IV. 17. Section 5. page 403.

now he confesses that there is no common agreement as to the manner of the application. "All are not agreed as to the Mode of partaking of Him." (1) "For there are some who define the eating of the flesh of Christ, and the drinking of His Blood, to be, in one word, nothing more than believing in Christ Himself. But Christ seems to have intended to teach something more express and more sublime in that noble discourse, in which he recommends the eating of His flesh, - viz., that we are quickened by the true partaking of Him, which he designated by the terms Eating and Drinking, lest anyone should suppose that the life which we obtain from Him is obtained by simple knowledge. For as it is not the sight but the eating of the bread that gives nourishment to the body, so the soul must partake of Christ truly and thoroughly, that by his energy it may grow up into eternal life. Meanwhile, we admit that this is nothing else than the eating of faith, and that no other eating can be imagined. But there is this difference between their mode of speaking and mine. According to them, to eat is merely to believe, while I maintain that the flesh of Christ is eaten by believing. In this way, the Lord was pleased, by calling Himself the Bread of Life, not only to teach that our salvation is treasured up in the faith of His death and Resurrection, but also, by virtue of true communication with Him, His Life passes into us and becomes ours, just as bread when taken for food, gives vigour to the body." (2)

This is a clear assertion of the Mystical Union. This real and inward communion is not merely a union with Christ's Godhead or Spirit, but with His Glorified Body.

(1) Tholuck IV. 17. Section 5. page 403.

(2) do page 404.

"Nor am I satisfied with the view of those who, while acknowledging that we have some kind of communion with God, only make us partakers of the Spirit, omitting all mention of the flesh and blood. As if it were said to no purpose that His flesh is meat indeed, and His blood is drink indeed and that we have no life, unless we eat that flesh, and drink that blood and so forth." (1). Calvin does not profess to give an explanation of the "HOW" of this mystical union. It is a mystery which he feels, but is unable to comprehend with his mind. He does not wish to measure its sublimity by his feeble capacity. Doumergue (2) commends this confession on the part of Calvin. "I know that some will reply, All this does not explain the problem. I know what I shall reply. There is in this honest statement of the problem, in this effort to solve it, and in this confessed incapacity to solve it, more theology more true theology ---- than in all the solutions which have been proposed."

Calvin now sets forth a summary of his view of the mystery, "not doubting its truth, and therefore trusting that it will not be disproved by pious breasts." (1).

"First of all we were taught by the Scriptures that Christ was from the beginning the Living Word of the Father, The Fountain and the Origin of Life, from which all things should always receive life.

Hence John calls Him the Word of Life, and at another time says that in Him was Life. But when man became alienated from God by sin, he lost this communication of life, and saw death on every side impending over him. It was necessary then, in order that man might regain the hope of immortality that he

(1) Tholuck. 404 Section 7.

(2) Doumergue Vol. 5, Page 363.

should be restored to the communion of that Word of Life. To effect this, the Word became Flesh, and began to dwell in our nature. And this very flesh in which He resides, He makes vivifying for us. By partaking of it, we feed for immortality. "I am" He says, "the Bread of Life, I am the Living Bread which came down from Heaven. And the bread that I will give, is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." (John VI. 48.51) By these words; Christ declares, not only that He is Life, inasmuch as He is the eternal Son of God, who came down from Heaven, but by coming down, gave vigour to the flesh which He assumed, that a communication of Life to us might there emanate. Hence too, He adds, that His flesh is meat indeed, and that His blood is drink indeed and that by this food, believers are reared (*educantur*) to eternal life. The pious, therefore, have admirable comfort in this, that they now find life in their own flesh. For they not only reach it by easy access, but have it spontaneously set before them, let them only throw open the doors of their hearts, that they may take it into their embrace and they will obtain it (I)."

But this power to be the Bread of Life, does not reside in Christ's Flesh as Flesh, but because it is the Flesh of the Son of Man enthroned in Majesty and Power and Glory. Here we have a restatement of the truth already commented (2) on in our discussion of the 1st Edition of the Institutes (1536). And here Calvin further explains himself by a familiar

(I) Tholuck p. 405. Section 8.

(2) Thesis p. 120.

illustration. "As water is at one time drunk out of a fountain, at another drawn, at another led away by conduits to irrigate the fields, and yet does not flow forth of itself for all these uses, but is taken from its source, which, with perennial flow, ever and anon, sends forth a new and sufficient supply, so the flesh of Christ is like a rich and inexhaustible fountain, which transfuses into us the life flowing forth from the Godhead into itself."

He now breaks into exclamation at a truth so obvious to himself. "Who does not see that the communion of the flesh and blood of Christ is necessary to all who aspire to the Holy Life?" (1) He next quotes Ephesians V, 32, to prove how intimate the Communion is". "We perceive that all these things cannot possibly take place unless He adheres to us wholly in body and in spirit. But the very close connection which unites us to His flesh, Paul illustrated with still more splendid epithets, when he said that "we are members of His body, of His Flesh, and of His bones." (Ephes. V. 32) The sum is, that the flesh and blood of Christ feed our souls, just as bread and wine support our corporal life. For there would be no aptitude in the signs, did not our souls find their nourishment in Christ. This could not be, did not Christ freely form one with us, and refresh us by the taking of His flesh, and the drinking of His blood." (2). Calvin now comes to more exact explanations as to HOW this mystical communion is attained. He recognises that it would seem an incredible thing that the flesh of Christ, while at such a distance from us in respect of space, should be food

(1) Tholuck p. 406. Section 9.

(2) do. Section 10.

to us, but as in former writings, so here, he answers that it is accomplished by means of the secret virtue of the Holy Spirit.

"But though it seems an incredible thing that the flesh of Christ, while at such a distance from us in respect of place, should be food to us, let us remember how far the secret virtue of the Holy Spirit surpasses all our conceptions, and how foolish it is to wish to measure its immensity by our feeble capacity. Therefore what our mind does not comprehend, let faith conceive - viz: that the Spirit truly unites things separated by space".(1).

We have here no mention of the Lifting up of our souls to heaven, which Doumergue characterises as a "Mere suggestion on the part of Calvin, who does not propound it as a final solution".(2)

Christ communicates Himself to us through an almighty act of the Holy Spirit.

He now comes to the question as to When Christ communicates Himself to us, and he says quite clearly that the Lord's Supper is not merely a Pledge that a real Mystical fellowship Exists between the communicant and Christ. It is a pledge that Christ communicates Himself Anew. "That sacred communion of flesh and blood by which Christ transfuses His life into us, just as if it penetrated our bones and marrow, He testifies and seals in the Supper, and that, not by presenting a vain and empty sign, but by exerting an efficacy of the Spirit, by which He fulfils what He promises, and truly, the thing there signified He exhibits and offers to all who sit down at that spiritual feast, although it is received by believers only".(3)

1. Tholuck, Section 10 Pages 406, 407.

2. Doumergue V. p. 263.

3. Tholuck. Section 10 p.406.

"We duly infer from the exhibition of the symbol that the thing itself is exhibited".

It is here that Prof. Lindsay finds the element in Calvin's theory which enabled him to convince Luther that he held that there was a real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. "Calvin was willing to call the elements signs of the body and blood of the Lord, but while Zwingli called them signs which represent (Signa Representiva) what was absent, Calvin insisted on calling them signs which Exhibit (Signa Exhibitiva) what was present".(1) This is further explained by the following quotation. "I say then, that in the mystery of the Supper, by the symbols of the bread and wine, Christ, His body and His blood, are truly exhibited to us, that in them He fulfilled all obedience, in order to procure righteousness for us - 1st. that we might become one body with Him; and 2nd. that being made partakers of His substance, we might feel the result of this fact in the participation of all His benefits".(2)

In clear language, Calvin sums up his position as follows.

He sees in the mystery of the Supper, Two things.

1. The Corporal Signs, which, presented to the eye, represent invisible things in a manner adapted to our weak capacity.
11. The Spiritual Truth, which is at once figured and exhibited in the signs.

He considers that its Nature includes Three things.

1. The thing Meant, which consists in the promises which are in a manner included in the Signs.
 11. The Matter or Substance which is Christ, With His Death, and Resurrection.
 111. The Effect - Redemption, Justification, Sanctification, Eternal Life, and all other Benefits which Christ bestows upon us.
- (2)
-

I. Lindsay, Reformation, Vol. 2. P.59.
 II. Tholuck, Section ii p. 407.

III.

Erroneous Conceptions of the Lord's Supper.

(Chap. 17, Sects. 11-25, Chap. 18).

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DOCTRINE. (A).

The Council of Trent was opened by Pope Paul III, on 13th Dec. 1545, and lasted with long interruptions till the 4th Dec. 1563. The 13th Session dealt with the De Eucharistiae Sacramento (11 OCT. 1551). The Doctrina de Sacrificio Missae was discussed at the 22nd Session (Sept. 17 1562).

In the 3rd Edition of the Institutes (1559), Calvin gives a clear exposition of his views on the Roman Catholic doctrine.

He deals in Book IV, Chap. 17, with Transubstantiation, etc. and in Chap 18, with the Mass.

(a). Transubstantiation.

In his discussion of this subject, he makes at the outset a clear distinction between the presence of Christ in the sacrament, and the local presence of Christ in the bread.

"We are not to dream of such a presence of Christ in the sacrament as the artificers of the Romish Court imagined, as if the body of Christ, locally present, were to be taken into the hand, and chewed by the teeth and swallowed by the throat.

That is but to revive the Confession of Berengarius.

The body of Christ is bounded according to the invariable rule in the human body, and is contained in heaven. It is unlawful to bring it back under the corruptible elements, or to imagine it everywhere present, and there is no need of this corporal presence, in order to ensure our partaking of it, since, as we have already seen, the Spirit unites us to Christ. He is a kind of Channel by which everything that Christ Has and Is, is derived to us". (1).

(1). Tholuck, Sect. 12. p. 407.

"For if we see that the sun, in sending forth its rays upon the earth, to generate, cherish, and invigorate, in a manner transfuses its substance into it, why should the radiance of the Spirit be less in conveying to us the communion of His flesh and blood?

Wherefore the Scripture, when it speaks of our participation with Christ, refers its whole efficacy to the Spirit".

Here we have the familiar Dynamic conception, which we have already met with in all Calvin's previous writings.

Prof. Lindsay is of opinion that it was in his study of the mediaeval idea of Transubstantiation, that Calvin found the basis of his own doctrine(1).

" He went back to the mediaeval doctrine of Transubstantiation, and asked whether it gave him a true conception of what was meant by substance. He decided that it did not, and believed that the root thought in substance was not dimension in space, but Power. The substance of a body consists in its power, active and passive, and the presence of the substance of anything consists in the immediate application of that power. When Luther and Zwingli had spoken of Substance in relation to the body of Christ, they had always in their mind the thought of something extended in space; and the one affirmed, while the other denied, that this body of Christ, this something extended in space, could be and was present in the sacrament of the Supper. Calvin's conception of Substance enabled him to say that wherever anything Acts, there it Is. He denied the crude 'substantial' presence which Luther insisted upon, but he affirmed such a real because Active presence."(1).

This is in harmony with what we have already said in our discussion of the 1st Edit. of the Institutes (1536).

Calvin had no need of a theory of Transubstantiation. He held it to be a fiction that "the bread is converted into the body of Jesus Christ.....that Christ, in order to conceal Himself under the figure of the bread, reduces the substance to nothing". (2).

I. Lindsay, Vol 2. p. 59.

II. THOLUCK. SECT. 14. p. 409.

Besides this, Transubstantiation is in direct opposition to Scripture. "The three Evangelists, and Paul relate that Jesus took bread, and after giving thanks, brake it, and gave it to His disciples, saying; 'Take, eat, this is My body which is given or broken for you'... What Christ takes into His hands... He declares to be His body, but he had taken bread, and, therefore, who sees not that what is given, is still bread? (1) Paul expresses himself thus, 'The bread which we break', and what is a sacrament, if there is not an external sign which renders sensible to us the grace of which it is the means? How could Christ say to us that it is the bread which nourishes our souls, if He did not present to us, true bread, material bread, which would figure the spiritual bread?

Besides, the sacred writers have not written, 'This is changed into My body'; 'Est' never means 'Is Transubstantiated'.

The Evangelists and St Paul add that the Lord took the cup and gave it to the disciples, saying, 'This is My blood shed for you in remission of sins'. The formula, 'This Cup is the new testament in my blood' which one meets in Luke and Paul, has the same sense, as that which is reported by Matthew and Mark. From this, it evidently results, that the Cup, i.e., the wine in the cup, is the Testament, or Guarantee that the blood of Christ is given to us, that our alliance with God is ratified. Now what would become of the Guarantee of our covenant with God, if the wine were not there in substance? To take the words of the Institution literally, as the partisans of Transubstantiation do, there is no reason for not admitting also that the cup changes substance, and disappears like the bread". (1)

I. Tholuck. Section. 20. p. 414. and Commentary on Matt. 26 and 26.

Transubstantiation is also contrary to the faith of the ancient church.

"I admit, indeed, that some of the ancients occasionally used the term, Conversion, not that they meant to do away with the substance in the external signs, but to teach that the bread of the sacrament is different from ordinary bread, in the sense that it is consecrated for a new use...Thus in speaking of Baptism, the Fathers acknowledge that there operates a conversion there, since, a corruptible element like water, becomes the spiritual laver of the soul, and yet no one denies that it remains water...Besides, they all agree in saying that the bread and wine are the earthly signs of the body and blood of Christ....In short, why make the Lord descend into the elements, and substitute Him for them, rather than leave Him in the heavens, where He has gone, no more to leave them, according to the Scriptures...It is there alone, that He is present in the body, and ought to be adored...We do not read in the accounts of the institution of the Supper, that the disciples adored the sacrament, that they made an idol of the bread. It is written that we ought to raise our hearts on high, to adore there, Christ seated in the heavenly glory. (Colos. III. 2).". (1).

Calvin, in this chapter, comments on several other abuses associated with the Roman Catholic Church.

Communion once a year.

The custom which prescribes communion once a year is an "invention of the devil, for it involves spiritual indolence for all the rest of the year. Chrysostom protests against such ideas. He complains that the people did not receive the sacrament during the rest of the year, even when prepared for it, but only at Easter, though unprepared...The Fathers of this period, conforming to the practice of the apostolic church, recommend the frequent use of the supper". (1).

(I). Tholuck, Sections. 14, 19, 36, 46, & 45.

The Denial of the Cup to the laity. (I).

This Roman Catholic custom is another device of Satan. "It annuls the ordinance of the Lord Himself who has said, 'Drink ye all of it.' But the Roman Catholics reply, 'Jesus Christ distributed the cup to His disciples as to sacrificers, i.e. as to Priests.' Where did the Church see that in Scripture? Was it not rather as Christians, that the twelve received the cup from the hand of the Lord?

In short, if the Lord had found worthy of receiving the cup, only the Sacrificers or Priests, would the fathers have dared to call to the participation in the cup, those who would have been excluded by Him? Would they have dared, Tertullian, Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, Gelasius, to do this? The Fathers mention the use of the two elements not only for the Priests, but also for the believers. Further, why deprive lay communicants of one of the two signs when the Lord made use of both- showing that in Him alone, are the two things necessary for life - eating and drinking?" (I).

"But", continues the Roman Catholic Church, "a single element suffices, - the bread, for the body contains the blood by Concomitance."

"The height of audacity," replies Calvin, "Why not then, suppress all the Sacraments, since Christ would be able to render us participants of His flesh and His blood, without any external aid?" (I).

THE MASS. (2).

In Chapter 18 of the 3rd. Edition, Calvin deals with the Mass.

Transubstantiation is the condition previous to the Mass. The Mass is the logical result of Transubstantiation. (3). By Transubstantiation and similar inventions, (2) "Satan has attempted to adulterate and envelope the Sacred Supper of Christ as with thick darkness, that its purity might not be preserved to the Church."

(1). Tholuck. 439. Section 47. & 48.
Commentary on Matt. XXVI. 27.

(2). Tholuck page 441. Section I. Chapter XVIII.

(3). Doumergue V. 345.

The Mass in its turn, produces 5 consequences all equally anti-evangelical.

1st., It offered intolerable blasphemy and insult to Christ.

"He was not appointed Priest and Pontiff by the Father for a time merely, as priests were appointed in the Old Testament. Since their life was mortal, their Priesthood could not be immortal, and hence there was need of successors. But Christ, being immortal, had not the least occasion to have a vicar substituted for Him. Wherefore He was appointed by His Father to be a Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek, that he might eternally exercise a permanent Priesthood" (1).

2nd. The Mass overthrows the Cross of Christ by setting up an altar.

"For if, on the Cross, He offered Himself in sacrifice that He might sanctify us for ever, and purchase for us eternal redemption, undoubtedly, the power and efficacy of His sacrifice continues without end. Otherwise, we should not think more honourably of Christ than of the oxen and calves which were sacrificed under the Law, the offering of which proved to be inefficacious, because often repeated" (2).

3rd., The Mass banishes the remembrance of Christ's death.

"If Jesus Christ is sacrificed at each Mass, He must be cruelly slain every moment in a thousand places. This is not my argument, but the Apostle's when he says, 'Nor yet that He should offer Himself, often, for then must He often have suffered since the foundation of the world.'" (3).

4th., The Mass robs us of the benefits of Christ's death.

"For the doctrine which is disseminated by the ministers of Satan, and which, in the present day, they defend by clamour, fire and sword is that when we offer Christ to the Father in the Mass, we, by the work of oblation, obtain remission of sins, and become partakers of the sufferings of Christ. What is now left for the sufferings of Christ. but to be an example of redemption, that we may thereby learn to be our own Redeemers?" (4).

(1). Tholuck. 442. Chap. 18. Section. 2.
 (2). do. 443. -----Section. 3.
 (3). do. 444. -----Section. 5.
 (4). do. 445. -----Section. 6.

5th., The Mass abolishes the Lord's Supper.

"While the Supper itself is a gift of God, which was to be received with thanksgiving, the sacrifice of the Mass pretends to give a price to God to be received as satisfaction. As widely as giving differs from receiving, does Sacrifice differ from the Sacrament of the Supper". (1).

"The merciless enumeration continues", says Doumergue, (2). These errors have opened the way to private masses which destroy the common participation in the Supper". "The Supper was to be dispensed at the public meeting of the Church, to remind us of the communion by which we are all united to Jesus Christ. This communion, the private mass dissolves, and tears asunder. The private masses more resemble an excommunication, than that communion ordained by the Lord". (1).

Calvin was unsparing in his polemic against the Church of Rome. His Canons of the Council of Trent with the Antidote', was a systematic analysis and review, and notwithstanding all that has been written on the subject, its usefulness as a complete Protestant manual, has not been superseded.

III. B. Erroneous Conceptions of the Lord's Supper. -

The Lutheran. (III).

We have already said that when Calvin produced the last edition of the Institutes (1559), he was still under the influence of the Westphal controversy. He had not the same hopes now of a great united Protestant Confession, and he subjects the Lutheran theory to a keen and searching analysis. He rejects entirely Consubstantiation, Ubiquity, and the partaking of Unbelievers. The Lutheran had said that the body of Christ is present In, With and Under the elements of the Holy Supper, which elements nevertheless preserve their substance. He would not object to the phrase, 'the inclusion of Christ under the bread', if they would explain this to mean that when the bread is held forth in the sacrament, an exhibition of the body is ---

(I). Tholuck, Section, 7. p. 446.

(II). Doumergue, V. p. 346.

(III). Tholuck, Section, 16. p. 411.

annexed, because the truth is inseparable from the sign. "But they explain the presence of the body of Christ under the bread and wine by saying that it is present everywhere. They attach to the body an ubiquity which is contrary to its nature.

They insist that the body of Christ is invisible and immense, so that it may be hid under the bread."(1). "The Lutherans do not hesitate to assert that the dimensions of Christ's flesh are not more circumscribed than those of heaven and earth.(2). They say that if the Lord was incarnate and enclosed in the limits of a human body, whilst His body has always been infinite as the heavens, it was by a kind of dispensation, in order that He might perform what was necessary for our salvation." But that, according to Calvin, is pure Marcionism (2). Some employ a more subtle evasion, "that the body which is given in the sacrament, is glorious and immortal, and that therefore, there is no absurdity in its being contained under the sacrament in various places or in no place and no form." (2) "But if, since it is a question of the body of Christ, we ask ourselves what body the Lord Jesus gave to His disciples, we are forced to acknowledge that it could only be His mortal body, which was to be delivered up shortly, and not His glorious body." (2). The Lord was not yet glorified. Moreover, to affirm that Christ is corporally under the bread and the wine, is to say that the blood is in the sign of the body, on the one hand, and the body in the sign of the blood, on the other hand." (1). "This idea of Concomitance will not hold, for by the confession of the Lutherans the signs (which contain the one, the body alone, and the other, the blood alone) were separately distributed by the Lord. It follows then, that as the bread and wine are separated, the one from the other, so the body ought to be separated from the blood, and the blood from the body. Besides, to enclose Christ under the elements, is to injure His heavenly glory, and to place Him everywhere, is to ascribe to His human nature, an attribute which does not properly pertain to it."(3).

(1). Section, 16 p. 411.

(2). Sections, 17, p. 412.

(3). Section. 19. p. 413.

The Consubstantiation of the Lutherans is also Contrary to the Holy Scripture. (I).

The Lutherans take the words literally, in spite of numerous passages in the holy books which support the Symbolical interpretation.

"When John says, 'The Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified', the literal sense is impossible, for no one would deny the eternal essence of the Holy Spirit (2)."

St Augustine maintains, speaking of the sacraments, "that because of their similitude to the things which they symbolise (without which they would not be sacraments,) they bear the name of these things."

(3). It is thus that the bread which figures in the Sacrament of the Supper, the body of Christ, takes the name of the body of Christ. It is quite simply Metonymy. There is thus only one way of understanding the words of the institution- the Sacramental way.

Calvin now seeks to answer certain Objections which the Lutherans are wont to make to his particular theory.

A. "To seek the true and natural sense hidden in the words of the Lord, rather than to stick to their form", one says, "You show a lack of faith," "No", replies Calvin, "To examine attentively the words of the master, as we do, is, on the contrary, to hold them in great consideration. It is to bow with respect before their authority." (4)

B. They give out that we are so wedded to human reason, that we attribute nothing more to the power of God than the order of Nature admits. But, is it indeed a Rationalist doctrine that teaches that Christ nourishes our souls with His flesh, as our bodies are nourished with bread and wine? To maintain that the flesh has the virtue of vivifying souls, that our souls take from the flesh that remains in heaven, Spiritual and heavenly life, is that to maintain things conforming to human reason?" (4)

-
- | | | | |
|------|----------|--------------|-------------------|
| I. | Tholuck. | Section. 21. | p. 415. |
| II. | do. | 22. | p. 416. |
| III. | do. | 21. | p. 415. |
| IV. | do. | 23 & 24. | pages. 417 & 418. |

C. "They reproach us with detracting from the infinite power of God.

But is it a question of what God can do, for example, that the body of Jesus Christ, which has, like all other bodies, a certain dimension, occupies a certain place, is infinite, occupies several places at once or does not occupy any space, is impalpable, and invisible, in a word, that it is no more body? No, we do not diminish the power of God. It is a question with us of a mystery, and not of a thing which can be explained naturally". (1).

"St Augustine, whose support they claim, says in a Tractate (Johann 60 that Christ is not everywhere present. In so far as He is man, He is in heaven. He entered into heaven with our flesh, and does not withdraw His body from thence, to make us enjoy the communion. Therefore, He cannot be enclosed under the bread. If one maintains, that He is present but in an invisible fashion, then there is no more bodily presence. Christ becomes a spirit, or indeed He has at the same time, a material body in the heaven, and a spiritual body in the Supper, in other words, a double body." (2)

"This invisible presence", says Calvin, "is contrary to Scripture" (2)

D. "One cannot", reply our adversaries, "Subject a glorified body to the laws of Nature. It is necessary then, that the body of Christ be everywhere, without any human form". "But this brings with it the dream of Servetus, which all pious minds justly abhor, that Christ's body was absorbed by His Divinity. If it is necessary to admit an infinite body, filling all, Christ's divine and human nature are no more to be distinguished. If it is necessary to admit a body, able to be in several places at the same time, one finds oneself in presence of this alternative, either one is forced to reject the Resurrection of bodies, or one is forced to acknowledge that in assuming the heavenly glory, Jesus Christ has not thrown off His human nature. Now He has kept flesh and blood after His resurrection, for, what would become of the faith in the Resurrection without that?" (3).

I. Sections. 23 and 24. p. 416.

II. Section. 29. Tholuck. p. 423.

III. Tholuck. Sect. 29. p. 423.

"It is with the Father, Jesus wishes us to contemplate Him, not under the elements of the Holy Supper. It is not necessary to seek Him here below, under the bread and wine, but in heaven. Let us lift up our hearts and our thoughts on high, to seek there the body of Christ in heaven, from where He sheds into our souls, by the Holy Ghost, the power of LIFE, which is the effect of His broken body. That is the true fashion of receiving the body and blood of our Lord.

This communication of Christ is not such as the Lutherans believe, that His body is UNDER the bread, for it takes place by virtue of the Holy Spirit. The eating of the body of Christ, which we admit, is quite as true and real as theirs". (1).

E. "Their objection according to which, our point of view being granted, we only participate in the Effect of the flesh of the Lord; and not in the flesh itself, has no foundation, for we say that the flesh of Christ and the Effect of the flesh are one. and to receive the Life into our souls of the flesh and blood of Christ crucified, and to taste of its expiatory Efficacy, what else is this, than to eat really the flesh and to drink the blood of Christ". (2).

Believers & Unbelievers.

According to the Lutherans, all communicants, believers, and unbelievers, receive the body of Christ. Here Calvin reaffirms his statement that while the body of Christ is offered to all, it is one thing to Offer, and another thing to Receive. Faith is necessary, for, as Augustine says, "Men carry away no more from the sacrament than they carry in the vessel of faith". That is why unbelievers turn empty away. (3).

The Lutherans object that if unbelievers receive only bread, the words, "This is My body", become void. To this, Calvin replies, that God in His goodness, offers always what the unbelievers Reject through want of faith. The faithless heart is like the hard rock on which the rain falls in vain. (3).-----

(I). Tholuck. Sect. 31 & 33. p. 427. f.

(II). do. Sect. 29. p. 427.

(III). do. Sect. 33. do.

The Lutherans had defined the Sacramental Eating as that eating where -by Unbelievers receive the body and blood of Christ, without the agency of the Spirit, and without any gracious effect. But to this, Calvin opposes the clear testimony of Augustine, who affirms that the sacrament of our union with the body and blood of Christ, is offered to some for their life, and to others for their destruction, while the matter of which it is the sacrament, is to all for life, to none for destruction, whoever may have been the partaker. In general, Calvin would sum up the teaching of Augustine in simple words, and he would claim that it is in entire harmony with his own.

According to the 'Holy doctor', the virtue of the sacrament, i., e, the body itself from which this virtue is inseparable, is imparted to those who participate with the heart. The Visible sacrament, on the other hand, is received by those who eat the sacrament with the teeth. The unbeliever does not participate in the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

Augustine distinguishes between Sacramental and Real eating, which is spiritual, and takes place by faith, just as one distinguishes between the sacraments and their virtue, between the sign and the thing signified. (1).

The Sacramental Eating, which is the eating of the visible sign, is quite different from the Spiritual Eating which is that of the body of Christ.

'The other disciples ate bread which was the Lord. Judas ate the bread of the Lord (Homil. in Joann. 62). 'To eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, is to dwell in Him. Whoever dwells in Christ, eats His body and drinks His blood. But he who does not dwell in Christ, i., e, the Unbeliever, eats Him sacramentally, that is to say, does not eat Him at all'. 'Do not prepare your throat', says Augustine, 'but your heart. We receive a small portion, but the heart is filled. It is not therefore that which is seen, but that which is believed, that feeds'. (2).

"Christ, according to Augustine, continues Calvin, "Can only be eaten by faith, and if he says somewhere that only believers receive His body, he means that unbelievers receive it sacramentally. Cyril affirms in the same sense, that it is necessary that he who receives the body and the

I. Tholuck. p. 427-429, Sections. 33 and 34.

II. Contra Faustum. Book 13, Chap. 16.

blood, be united to Him, be found in Christ, and Christ in him"

In conclusion, Calvin would say, that since the body of Christ, cannot be separated from its virtue, unbelievers who repel this virtue, although it may be offered to them, do not eat truly and really, but sacramentally, the body of Christ. This of course does not destroy the mystery of the Supper, as God offers always His grace, which grace is Christ. (1).

III. C.

ERRONEOUS CONCEPTIONS OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Those who sustain that to eat the body, and to drink the blood of Jesus Christ, is only to believe on Him, and limit themselves to that.

"It seems that the Lord Himself wished to express more than that," says Calvin, "for he enjoins on us the eating of His body." (2). HE wishes us to feed our souls on His flesh and blood. (3), The Eating and Faith are not one and the same thing, but the first is the result of the second. There is no eating of the body of Christ, unless there is first faith, and there is not between the eating and Faith, a relation of identity, but a relation of Causality. The Assimilation of the Body of the Lord, has faith for its cause. (2).

"Like them," adds Calvin, "We understand the words of the Institution in a figurative sense, but we affirm besides, that with the sign of the body, we receive the true substance of the body". In the Holy Supper there is a gift, a Communication of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself. To contemplate by Faith alone, does not give eternal life to the soul, but rather, to feed this soul with the body and blood of Christ, to see that Christ becomes ours. (4).

The Bread is named Body, not only because it is the sign of it, but because it is the Testament in the body. Now the word Testament indicates that there is in the Holy Supper, a Promise realised, a True Union, most intimate, with the very Person of the Saviour. If then, with the sign of the Body, we receive the body, if the true eating of the body is not only represented to us, but presented to us, there is in the Sacrament more than a simple sign. There is a promise confirmed, and in consequence, there is the Means of Confirming and fortifying Faith. (5).

(1). Tholuck; 429. Sect. 34. (2). DO. P. 403. Sec. 5, (3). DO. 494. Sec. 6. (4). Tholuck. 403-7 Sect. 5 and 11. (5). DO. P. 407. Sec. 11

The Sacraments are then more than useful. They are the external witnesses of Grace, the Pledges of the Divine Promise. They are indispensable for developing and maintaining Faith.

IV.

EXHORTATIONS CONTAINED IN THE LORD'S SUPPER.

These exhortations are similar to those of which we have already spoken in our discussion of the De Coena Domini. (I).

1st. THANKSGIVING AND PRAISE: "Since in His Divine goodness, the Lord assures us by this mystery of the great benefits, as if He made us touch them with the finger, He exhorts us by the same to be grateful to Him for them; to celebrate a gift so precious by our Thanksgiving, and to exalt His Goodness, by our Praises". (2).

2nd., PROCLAMATION, AND CONFESSION OF OUR LORD'S DEATH. Christ commands us to recall His death, to Celebrate the memory of it, to show it forth until He come. That is to say, we have to confess publicly that by it, we have life. (3).

3rd., PURITY AND HOLINESS OF LIFE. (3).

4th., CHARITY AND BROTHERLY FELLOWSHIP AND MUTUAL LOVE. Participating in the same symbol of the body of Christ, and uniting thus to Christ to form one body with Him, we must be united amongst ourselves. There must be no Hatred nor Division. Augustine calls this Sacrament, the "Bond of Charity". "What stronger stimulus could be employed to excite mutual charity, than when Christ, presenting Himself to us, not only invites us by His example to give and devote ourselves mutually to each other, but inasmuch as He, making Himself common to all, also makes us all to be one in Him?" (4).

(I). Treatise. p. 150.

(2). Tholuck. 432. Section 37.

(3). do.

(4). do. 38.

V.

THE RIGHT USE OF THE SUPPER.

It results from these exhortations that, in order to take a true part in the Sacrament of the Supper, a man should be animated with the spirit of Thanksgiving. For this reason, ^{let} each individual descend into himself to know if seriously, with firm and living faith, he acknowledges Jesus Christ as his Saviour, his righteousness and his Life. Unbelievers who rush forward to seize the Lord's Supper, do not at all discern the Lord's Body. Not having any spark of Faith, not believing that in Christ is their life, they repel the virtue of the Holy Spirit which would unite them to their Lord. They dishonour and profane it in taking the sign of the body". (1).

In order to communicate worthily, the Christian ought to be animated with a spirit of contrition. He ought to consider whether he has true charity; whether he is prepared to give himself to his brethren, and to hold himself in common with those with whom he has Christ in common; and whether he desires to cherish, defend and assist them. (1).

But as Perfection is not on earth, it is not necessary to make a bugbear of the Supper, to torment consciences, and to exclude from it all who have not perfect faith and repentance. Who has no faults? We can then come to the table notwithstanding our faults, provided that we really hope in our salvation, and wish to live according to the Gospel. We can do this on condition that we do not merely condemn our faults, while always falling into them again. For true repentance is constant, resolute in its struggle against evil. With the sincere desire to cleave to the good, while hating the evil, we can participate in the Supper. Why should it have been instituted, if we had not had a faith needing to be strengthened? "If then we are and feel ourselves Frail, let us approach the Table as Sinners who humiliate themselves, in order to be exalted by Christ, who accuse themselves, in order to be justified by Him, who feel themselves dead, in order to be vivified by Him. The Supper is to strengthen believers, and to restore sinners. What would one say of an invalid who would consider it useless to take a remedy, because he was ill?". (2).

(I).Tholuck. 434. Section. 40

(II). do. 40. 41. 42.

The Celebration of the Supper should therefore be frequent. One has need of often reminding oneself of the death of Christ. The Christian life, enfeebled by sin and worldly influences, has need of refreshing itself anew at the springs of reconciliation with God. These springs fortify and feed the new life, and sustain and confirm faith. The bond of brotherly charity has ceaseless need of being drawn tighter, and the unity of Christians has need of being proclaimed.

"What we have hitherto written of the Sacrament," says Calvin, "abundantly shows that it was not instituted to be received once a year, and that perfunctorily,-- but that all Christians might have it in frequent use, and frequently call to mind, the sufferings of Christ, thereby sustaining and confirming their faith, stirring themselves to sing the praises of God, and to proclaim His goodness, cherishing and testifying towards each other that mutual charity, the bond of which they see in the unity of the body of Christ. As often as we communicate in the Symbol of our Saviour's body, we mutually bind ourselves, the one to the other, as if by a pledge, to all the offices of love." (1).

CALVIN & HESSHUSS.

Calvin's last Tract (2) on the subject of the Lord's Supper was published against Hesshuss in January 1561. Tilemann Hesshuss, one of the zealots of that period, affords us in his life, an image of that unquiet time. He is a most curious and fantastic figure, (3) described by Calvin as a "Monkey clothed in gold, and accoutred in silk, more rude and barbarous than all the rabble of the monks." (4) The life of this theologian," says the

(1). Tholuck. 437. Section 44. (2).

(2). Opera IX.p. 457 - 524.

(3). Langereau: Joachim Westphal. & T. Hesshuss. 1896. p. 6.

(4). Tracts.p. 503.

Allgemeine Encyclopaedia, (I) "gives us a faithful and valuable picture of the quarrelsome spirit and the dogmatic narrowness which dominated this age of the Protestant Church." "Planck and Heppe give him a bad character, and charge him with inordinate ambition and avarice. He was one of the most pugnacious and energetic champions of scholastic orthodoxy who outluthered Luther and outpoped the Pope. He identified piety with orthodoxy, and orthodoxy with a theory which has been characterised as "illocal con - in - substantiation," or "bread worship," to use Melanchthon's expression."(2). He occupied many influential positions, but with his turbulent disposition, he stirred up strife everywhere, used the power of excommunication very freely, and was himself no less than seven times deposed from office and expelled. He was originally a pupil and table companion of Melanchthon, and agreed with his moderate opinions, but like Westphal and Flacius, he became an ungrateful enemy of his benefactor. He was recommended by him to a Professorship at Heidelberg and the general superintendency of the Lutheran Church in the Palatinate on the Rhine (1558). Here he first appeared as a champion of the strict Lutheran theory of the Substantial Presence, and attacked the "Sacramentarians" in a book on "The Presence of the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper." He quarrelled with his colleagues, especially with Deacon Klebitz, who was a Melanchthonian, but no less violent and pugnacious. He even tried to wrest the eucharistic cup from him at the altar. He excommunicated him because he would not admit the IN and SUB, but only the CUM pane et vino in the scholastic formula of the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence. The Elector, Frederick III, restored peace by dismissing both Hesshuss and Klebitz (SEPT. 16. 1559) with the approval of Melanchthon. He afterwards ordered the preparation of the Heidelberg Catechism which is the best existing expression of the Calvin-Melanchthon doctrine of the Lord's Supper. On the other hand, the Lutheran clergy of Wurtemberg, under the hand of Brenz, in a synod at Stuttgart, gave the doctrine of the Ubiquity which Luther had taught, but which Melanchthon had rejected, symbolical authority for Wurtemberg. (3).

- (1). Allgemeine Encyclopaedia. Article 'Hesshuss'.
 (2). Schaff. Swiss Ref. II. p. 672.
 (3). Planck. vol. V. part II. p. 383. ff.

Calvin received the book of Hesshuss from Bullinger, who advised him to answer the arguments, but to avoid personalities. (1).

In the early months of 1561, the answer appeared - De Vera Participati-
^{carnis}
 one, et sanguinis Christi in Sacra Coena ad discutiendas Hesshusii rebus

In 1562, Hesshuss brought out his Defensio....adversus calumnias Cal-
 vini, etc., Calvin did not reply, and the polemic stopped.

De Vera Participatione.

In this work, there is a repetition of the arguments used against Westphal. Hesshuss, however was opposed to Westphal in some points of doctrine. Calvin proves this clearly in his writing. Westphal had declared that the body of Christ is masticated with the teeth. Hesshuss insisted on the contrary, that it may be eaten with the mouth, but not touched with the teeth. He was altogether opposed to the grosser idea. He also rejected the doctrine of Ubiquity, and found fault with its introduction into the Formula of Concord (1577). He strongly maintained the literal eating of Christ's body by unbelievers, as well as by believers. Calvin reiterates and vindicates his own theory, supporting his arguments from the Scriptures and the Fathers. He shews all his wonted intellectual vigour; and "seasons it with pepper and salt" (2)
 In the introduction to his work, he makes that most touching allusion to his departed friend Melanchthon, which we have quoted in another connection. In conclusion, he reviews the whole subject matter of the controversy, and expresses his hearty good-will to promote peace and unity. He gives at the same time a brief abstract of the points in which the two parties are agreed. He thus places the whole question in the clearest light.

I. Schaff. Swiss. Ref. II. p. 673.
 II. Langereau. p. 9.

Articles in regard to the Lord's Supper in which there is Agreement.

I. Under the symbols of bread and wine, an exhibition of the body and blood is held forth; and we are not only reminded that Christ was once offered on the cross for us, but that sacred union is ratified to which it is owing, that His death is our life. In other words, being ingrafted into His body, we are truly nourished by it, just as our bodies are nourished by meat and drink.

II. Christ fulfils in reality and efficaciously whatever the analogy between the sign and the thing signified demands. Therefore, in the Supper, communion with the body and blood is truly offered to us. Under the bread and wine, we receive an earnest which makes us partakers of the body and blood of Christ. The following are the Articles, as to which agreement has not yet been reached.

Ist. The Dispute as to the Mode of Eating.

Calvin asserts Ist. that Christ becomes ours, in order that He may thereafter communicate the blessings which He possesses to us.

2nd. Christ's body was not only once given for our salvation, but is daily given us for nourishment, that while He dwells in us, we may enjoy a participation in all His blessings.

3rd. Christ's body is vivifying, because He infuses His own life into us in the same way in which we derive vigour from the substance of the bread. (1).

Calvin's Explanation of the Mode of Eating.

I. The body of Christ is eaten, inasmuch as it is the spiritual nourishment of the soul.

II. The body of Christ is called nourishment, because Christ, by the incomprehensible agency of His Spirit, infuses His life into us, and makes it common to us, just as in a tree, the vital sap diffuses itself from the branches, or as the vigour of the head is extended to its members.

(I). Tracts. II. page 574.

II. The Dispute as to the Immensity of the body.

Calvin asserts that the body of Christ is finite and contained in heaven. "The idea that there is no absurdity in supposing the body of Christ to be everywhere, in consequence of its being united to the Divinity, is easily disposed of. For although the two natures form the one person of the Mediator, the properties of each remain distinct, since union is a different thing from unity. There was no dispute in ancient times as to this matter, for it was held with universal consent, that as Christ, the Son of God.....was once received into heavenly glory, so He is separated from us in respect of His flesh by distance of space, but still, by His divine essence and virtue, and also spiritual grace, fills heaven and earth." (I).

III. The Dispute as to the Twofold body.

"The character of Christ's flesh was indeed changed, when it was received into celestial glory. Whatever was terrene, mortal or perishable, it now put off. Still however it must be maintained that no other body can be vivific for us, or may be counted meat indeed, save that which was crucified to atone for our sins. The same body then, which the Son of God offered once to the Father, He offers daily in the Supper, for our spiritual food....It is not necessary however, that the essence of the flesh should descend from heaven, in order that we may be fed upon it, for the power of the Spirit is sufficient to penetrate all impediments, and to surmount all local distance. At the same time we do not deny, that the Mode here is incomprehensible to human thought, for flesh naturally could neither be the life of the soul, nor exert its power upon us from heaven.... In the sacred Supper then, we acknowledge it a miracle, transcending both nature and our own understanding that Christ's life is made common to us with Himself, and His flesh given to us as aliment. Only let all comments be kept at a distance, such as...the ubiquity of the body, or its secret inclusion under the symbol of the bread, or its substantial presence upon the earth." (2).

(I). Tracts II. p. 576.

(2). do. do. 577.

IV. The Dispute as to the word Substance.

"To remove this dispute, we must remove the gross imagination as to the eating of the flesh, as if it were similar to corporal food. This absurdity being removed, there is no reason why we should deny that we are substantially fed on the flesh of Christ, because we are truly united into one body with Him by faith, and so made one with Him. Whence it follows that we are conjoined with Him by a substantial fellowship, just as substantial vigour flows from the head to its members. The explanation to be adopted will thus be, that substantially we become partakers of the flesh of Christ - not that any carnal mixture takes place, or that the flesh of Christ brought down from Heaven penetrates into us, or is swallowed by the mouth, but because the flesh of Christ, in respect of its power and efficacy, vivifies our souls in the same way that bread and wine nourish our bodies."(1).

V. THE DISPUTE AS TO THE WORD "SPIRITUAL." (2).

"Many are averse to the word 'Spiritually', because they think it implies something imaginary or empty. On the contrary, however, the body of Christ is said to be given to us Spiritually in the Supper, because the secret energy of the Holy Spirit causes things that are separated by local distance to be joined together; so that life is made to reach into us from Heaven out of the flesh of Christ. This power and faculty of vivifying might be said to be something abstracted from the substance, provided that it be distinctly understood that the body of Christ remains in Heaven, and that yet, while we are pilgrims on the earth, life flows and comes to us from its substance."(3)

(1). Tracts. II. 577.
 (2). do. 578.
 (3). do.

VI. THE DISPUTE AS TO THE WORD "FAITH" - BELIEVERS & UNBELIEVERS.

"Some are suspicious as to the word "Faith", as if it overthrew the reality and the effect. But we ought to view it far otherwise, viz., that the only way in which we are conjoined to Christ is by raising our minds above the world. Accordingly, the bond of our union with Christ is Faith, which raises us upwards, and casts its anchor in Heaven, so that instead of subjecting Christ to the figments of our reason, we seek Him above in His glory." (I).

VII. The Dispute as to Believers and Unbelievers.

"Christ offers his body, and blood to all in general; but as unbelievers bar the entrance of His liberality; they do not receive what is offered. It must not however, be inferred from this, that when they reject what is given, they either make void the Grace of Christ, or detract in any way from the efficacy of the Sacrament. The Supper does not, through their ingratitude, change its nature, nor does the bread, considered as an earnest or pledge given by Christ, become profane, so as not to differ at all from common bread. It still truly testifies Communion with the Flesh and Blood of Christ." (I). That is the conclusion of Calvin's last deliverance on the vexed subject of the Lord's Supper. For the rest he handed his opponent Hesshuss over to Beza, who answered the "Defence" of Hesshuss with two sharp and learned tracts. We have in this "Best method of attaining Concord", Calvin's Final Summing up of the question. It is the Essence of his thought,

(I). Tracts . II. 579.

Calvin's Teaching on the Lord's Supper in a series of Propositions.

To further concentrate the matter, we set down 6 propositions which express the main points of his doctrine.

I. THE BODY OF CHRIST IS IN HEAVEN. Christ cannot therefore be bodily present in the Supper, but He is effectually present in His Power, even as the Sun is present with us through its power, although located in the distant Heavens.

II. THE FLESH & BLOOD ARE NOT MANDUCATED, nor is there to be supposed any transfusion or Admixture of the substance of Christ. The Bread and Wine are Signs, but Exhibitive Signs of the Presence of Christ.

III. TO FEED ON CHRIST, is, however more than a moral apprehension of the truth of Christ; more than a quickening Influence of the Holy Spirit, convincing and enlightening the Mind through the Word, and producing the New Life of Regeneration in the Soul. Christ, though in Heaven, yet in the fulness of His Personality, - embracing body and soul, vivifies and nourishes the believer, including body and soul.

IV. FAITH GRAFTS US INTO THE MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST, which derives all its life from Him, the Head, flowing out into the members. This Union is Mystical, but Real, and is witnessed to in Baptism.

V. The Lord's Supper by its symbolical elements of bread and wine sets forth the truth of the Person of Christ, as the Life and Nourishment of the soul. By its symbolical actions of Eating and Drinking, it testifies our actual participation in Christ through the Spirit. These Symbols are more than Pictures or Attestations. They not only signify and seal, but so exhibit and apply the Reality, that there is distinct spiritual effect.

VI. THE HOLY SPIRIT IS THE BOND. It so acts that the substance of Christ's Flesh and Blood though in Heaven, affects the whole man. The Influence is Spiritual and Real. The Signs signify Realities.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN. - Pages 252 to 255.

The Relation of Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper to that of Zwingli.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN. - Pages 256 to 277.

The Relation of Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper to that of Luther.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN. - Pages 278 to 289.

Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Is it Scriptural?

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN. - Pages 290 to 307.

Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Is it Candid and Consistent?

CHAPTER NINETEEN. - Pages 308 to 316.

The sources of Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Was Ratramnus the Precursor of Calvin's Doctrine of the
Lord's Supper?

CHAPTER FIFTEEN.

. The Relation of Calvin's Doctrine of the
Lord's Supper to that of Zwingli.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN.

CALVIN & ZWINGLI.

When the question is raised, whether Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper is nearer to that of Luther or to that of Zwingli, the decision is usually given in favour of the latter opinion. The standpoint of this thesis is, that Calvin's doctrine is the natural development of that of Zwingli. We have claimed for the latter a richer conception of the Supper than is usually credited to Him, and we have tried to show that in his earlier and later periods, he had many points of contact with the Calvinistic theory. Seeberg, who, as we have seen, still holds the traditional view of Zwingli's doctrine, sees a greater affinity between Luther and Calvin, than between Zwingli and Calvin. (1). Our thesis is, that the theories of Calvin and Luther are very closely related, but that does not preclude the possibility that Calvin was nearly related to Zwingli in his views. A. Schweizer, (2) Hagenbach, (3) Thomasius, (4) are clearly of this opinion. While we have ample sources of information as to Luther's judgment of Zwingli's doctrine, Calvin's utterances on the same subject are meagre and scanty. We know however, that he was far from accepting Luther's verdict. He tells us in the Second Defence against Westphal (5) that at first, influenced by Luther, he had a certain distrust of Zwingli, "When I read in Luther, that Oekolampadius and Zwingli left nothing in the Supper but bare symbols and representations, I confess that that turned me against their books, and for a long time, I abstained from reading them." Referring to certain retractions of Bucer, he says in a letter, to Zebedee, (6) of May 19, 1539; "Please Heaven, that Zwingli had done the same. His opinion was false and pernicious. When I saw that many of our people, enthusiastically acclaimed it, I, living still in France, (adhuc agens in Gallia), did not hesitate to attack it." This proves that in 1534, at least, Calvin was still an anti-Zwinglian. But the most characteristic passage is that, where in/

(1) Seeberg IV. p. 607.

(2) Schweizer, Glaubenslehre der Ref. Kirche, II. 656.

(3) Hagenbach, Dogmengeschichte Ed. 6, 556.

(4) Thomasius, D.G. II.550 - 554. ff.

(5) Tracts II. p.252.

(6) Herminjard V. p.317. n.II

in a letter to Farel, of Feb. 27, 1540, he says, "Excellent men are irritated, if one dares to place Luther above Zwingli. As if the Gospel would perish, as soon as one disagrees in any way with him.

For if one compares the two, you will know how Luther stands supreme (*quanto intervallo Lutherus excellat*)" (1). In short, one can say with Doumergue, (1) that there was more sympathy between Calvin and Luther than between the two Reformers of Switzerland. It was an affinity of two mystical spirits. Perhaps that also explains the sentiments Calvin (2) expressed to Viret, Sep. 11; 1542.

"On the question of Zwingli's writings, you can think as you please. For my part, I have not read them. It may be that at the end of his life, he retracted and corrected what he said rashly at the beginning. But in his first writings, I remember how profane was his doctrine of the Sacraments." Calvin evidently never did full justice to Zwingli. We do not see however that that prejudiced him with the Zurichers, for, if, he placed Luther incomparably above Zwingli, he placed the Zurichers infinitely above the Lutherans. "The former had taken all that was good in Zwingli's doctrine of the Supper, but the latter cleaved to all that was bad in Luther's theory". (3) We think that this is a very correct estimate, and it bears out our thesis. Calvin had little difficulty in acting with Bullinger in the *Consensus Tigurinus*, but he was steadfast in his opposition to Westphal who insisted on some of the minor issues of Luther's doctrine. The *Consensus Tigurinus* was the natural development of Zwingli's teaching. It may be Calvinistic in thought, and Zwinglian in language, but it would have been impossible for Calvin to unite with people who denied the presence of the living Christ in the Sacrament. Seeberg (4) considers that Zwingli denied that living presence. Dorner (5) is of the opinion that he affirmed it, "That Zwingli thinks of Christ as present, is undeniable. He was at/

(1) Doumergue, II. 568.

(2) Herminjard, VIII. pages 123 & 124.

(3) Doumergue II. 569.

(4) Seeberg, IV. 607.

(5) Dorner, I. 309.

at this feast, Host and Banquet Food." This is borne out by his last word on the subject of the Supper. In the Confession to King Francis I., we read, "We believe that Christ is truly present in the Lord's Supper; yea, that there is no communion without such presence.

We believe that the true body of Christ is eaten in the Communion; not in a gross and carnal manner, but in a sacramental and spiritual manner by the religious, believing and pious heart." (1) This passage like many in his earlier writings, comes so near the Calvinistic view, that it can hardly be distinguished from it. It is true of course, that Zwingli, in his polemic writings laid so much stress upon the absence of Christ's body, that the positive truth of his spiritual presence, was not sufficiently emphasised. Perhaps Loofs (2) is right, who considers that Bucer was the connecting link (Bindeglied) between Calvin and Zwingli, as Calvin was the connecting link between Luther and Zwingli. We have shown in this thesis that there were intimate relations subsisting between South Germany and Switzerland, and in intercourse with Bucer at Strasbourg, Calvin may have learned to form a higher opinion of Zwingli's doctrine. Taking even the traditional view of Zwingli's theory, there were many elements in it that appealed to Calvin. He certainly speaks of the signs as "Exhibitiva", while Zwingli describes them as "Representiva", but he undoubtedly shared with Zwingli the opinion that the words of Institution were to be taken in a symbolical sense. Calvin denied with Zwingli, the Ubiquity of Christ's body, and agreed with him that the eternal truth about that body is, that it is contained in one place, - at the right hand of God (Perpetua corporis veritas, ut loco contineatur). (2) Calvin also was at one with Zwingli, in what Loofs (2) describes as the "gemeinschaft" character/

(1) Niemeyer, Collectio, Confess. pages 71 and 72.

(2) Loofs, Leitfaden - page 879.

character of the Supper, in its exhortations to mutual charity and love.

There is no doubt that Calvin laid great stress, like Zwingli on the Sozialethische (1) aspect of the Feast, and its importance for the Christian Community and congregation. We do not of course, affirm that there were not also wide differences in thought between the two Swiss Reformers in the question of the mode. Zwingli does not enter into metaphysical discussions as to the meaning of "Substance", like Calvin. He does not lay the same stress on Christ's Humanity or Flesh. His theory (2) is perhaps more "Historisch" than "Dynamisch". He makes no mention of the agency of the Holy Spirit in the Ordinance. We hear nothing of a "lifting up of the soul to Heaven", as in Calvin, but in the sense of the devotional "sursum corda", which was the sense intended by Calvin, Zwingli would not have objected to the exhortation. Above all, we have to remember how rich was Zwingli's view of Faith, and how much of spiritual meaning he found in it. Were we to take his teaching in his earlier and later periods along with many scattered utterances in his time of conflict with Luther, we would discover that there was very little with which Calvin would find fault. And had Luther taken the trouble to read Zwingli's writings for himself, he might have discovered that Zwingli also granted that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there is a gift offered to the believing soul, which confession, we have seen, was the irreducible minimum which Luther demanded in the doctrine.

(1) Seeberg, IV. 608.

(2) Schultz - Zur Lehre vom heiligen Abendmahl, page 3, f.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN.

Relation of Calvin's Doctrine of the
Lord's Supper to that of Luther.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN.

THE RELATION OF CALVIN TO LUTHER.

The question how far Luther and Calvin agree in their teaching on the Lord's Supper or how much they differ, has often been raised by writers on dogmatic theology. If we regard the works of the older theologians on both sides, we see that all - Lutherans and Calvinists are of opinion that there is a radical difference between the two doctrines - so great as to be almost inconceivable. The view of the older Lutherans is that it was Calvin's intention, "to banish Christ entirely from the Lord's Supper. He really held, that the bread and the wine were merely symbols, Calvin however had a cunning mind. He could cover his ideas with an orthodox veneering, and could so represent his theory, that it seemed to differ only slightly from the ordinary accepted doctrine." (1) If we take the evidence of the older Reformed writers, Luther was the Innovator who introduced and brought forward Consubstantiation, Impanation, and other strange ideas about the Lord's Supper, much to the pious astonishment of his friends.

This ^{the} was characteristic attitude of the theologians of those early times which were so full of strife and quarrel. Later writers on both sides try to give a more impartial judgment, but even they do not seem to understand clearly the points of difference. We miss here a help which we have in the disputes between Luther and Zwingli and Oekolampadius about the Lord's Supper. In their controversial writings, as well as in the discussion at Marburg, the points at issue stand out clearly. Now, although the underlying difference between his doctrine and that of Calvin, must have been well known to Luther, we do not find that he ever stated these differences clearly. Luther says in the Kurzes Bekenntnis vom Heiligen Sakrament (1544) "I count them all in one cake, whoever will not believe that in the Holy Sacrament the natural body of our Lord is received by the Godless, ^{by} of Judas, as well as by a saint or a St. Peter". (2). One might conclude from these words that Luther meant Calvin in the 1st. Edition of the Institutes or in the De Coena in as much as in both writings, he denied that an

(1) Julius Müller. Dogm. Abhandlungen. page 404.

(2) Erl. Edit. vol. 32 p. 399.

an impious person may receive the body of the Lord. But it is certain that Luther does not class Calvin amongst the seven Fanatical Spirits. He leaves three of the Fanatics unnamed, but his description of their doctrine does not bear any resemblance to Calvin's theory. We have already noted Pezel's story of Luther's favourable comment on the De Coena, "I might have left the matter of this dispute in his (Calvin's) hands; if Zwingli and Oekolampadius had declared the same opinion, we should never have had such widespread controversy." (1). All are not agreed as to the authenticity of this saying, but we have a true testimony in a letter of Luther addressed to Bucer, 14th. Oct. 1539. (2). "Salute respectfully for me J. Sturmius and J. Calvin, whose books I have read with especial pleasure." Calvin in a letter to Farel (20th Nov. 1539) says, "Just think what I have said there (in the Institutes), on the subject of the Supper," (3) If then, we take all these utterances into account, we must conclude that Luther was not antagonistic to Calvin's doctrine, although he ^{did} does not declare himself as satisfied with it. Ebrard, who has made a very careful study of this question, thinks that we can trace in Luther's opinion of Calvin's doctrine, a gradual cooling of his verdict of approval. He begins with praise, and descends through tolerance, suspicion and mistrust to the utterance of a hard private judgment. It was Amsdorf who was the cause of Luther's growing suspicion of the Melancthon-Calvin doctrine. And yet he so maintained his respect for Melancthon and Calvin, that even Amsdorf could not drive him to an open polemical attack. (4).

-
- (1) Pezel. Ausführliche Erzählung vom Sacramentstreit. p. 137ff.
 (2) De Wette. Luthers Briefe. V.P. 110.
 (3) Henry. II. 496.
 (4) Ebrard. II. 478.

We now proceed to a critical comparison of Luther's and Calvin's theories of the Lord's Supper.

I. The different conceptions of the words of Institution held by Calvin and Luther.

Luther understands the words 'This is My Body. This is My Blood', (Matt. and Mark), (1) in a sense different from the Roman Catholics. He rejects Transubstantiation. As we have seen, he employs a Synecdoche, and includes under the 'Touto', both the Bread, and the body of Christ, the wine and the blood of Christ. Calvin takes these words symbolically, and by associating the "Given for you and broken for you", (Luke and Paul), with the body, and the "Shed for many", with the blood, he relates the transaction to the death on the Cross, but he is quite definite in asserting that Christ will really bestow what He indicates through the breaking of the bread, and the distribution of the wine. (2). We can therefore say that although there is this difference in their mode of interpretation of the words of Institution, there appears as yet no difference as regards their conception of the nature of the Heavenly Gift which is offered to the Communicant who is worthy, in the doctrines of Luther and Calvin.

II. Is the difference between Luther and Calvin to be found in the fact that Calvin does not attribute to the Lord's Supper, a special grace and influence, which cannot be otherwise obtained?

According to Calvin's view, Christ, the Living Bread, sustains the new life implanted in our souls. He is in communion with us through the mysterious power of His Spirit, quickening us with the Spiritual food of His flesh and blood. This gift is for all who believe in Jesus Christ, not only at certain periods but always. The Lord's Supper, however, provides a peculiar pledge of this grace and gift. This pledge is given to believers by Christ Himself in the symbols of the Bread and Wine.

(1) Kahnis. - Lehre vom Abendmahl. p. 326.

(2) Institutes. Bk. IV. Chap. 17, 1. 2. 10.

According to this manner of teaching, Christ works in the Sacrament, in the same way as outside the Sacrament. That this is Calvin's view we do not deny, but we assert that in reality, Luther's teaching on the Efficacy of the Sacrament, comes to the same thing. According to Luther, the purpose and the fruit of the Lord's Supper relate to the forgiveness of sins, which is to be appropriated by faith, as by the strong grasp of the divine grace. This idea of the end of the Sacrament occurs frequently in Luther's writings, and sermons. It is sufficient to quote the words of the Little Catechism. "What is the use of such Eating and Drinking? These words 'Given for you and shed for the forgiveness of sins', show us that there are given in the Sacrament, forgiveness of sins, life and blessedness". Luther refers the words which the Lord spoke at the Institution of the Sacrament, "Given for you and shed for you" (Luke and Paul) (1) not to the coming death on the Cross, through which the forgiveness of sins would be won, but to the Sacrament itself, in which the forgiveness of sins is conferred along with the body and blood of Christ, presented under the Bread and Wine. He gives to the words, "Shed for you", the meaning, "Poured out before your eyes for drinking". He says in the "Wider die himmelischen Propheten," (2). "The forgiveness of sins was conferred on the Cross, but it was not given or distributed there. Christ has not won the forgiveness in the Supper, but He has given and distributed it through the Word, in the Gospel, wherever it is preached." Luther also says, that when one has a guilty conscience, one may come to the Sacrament, and receive consolation, not in the bread and wine, not in the body and blood of Christ, but in the Word, "That in the Sacrament, the body and blood of Christ was offered and given for me". Thus, the fruit which they receive, who rightly use the Lord's Supper, is the most certain assurance that their sins are forgiven them, relying on the Word which accompanies the partaking of the body and blood of Jesus Christ".

(2)

(1) Katechismus. - Weimar Ed. vol. 26.

(2) Julius Müller - page 412. Weimar Ed. vol. 18.

The question arises now, whether Luther taught that the forgiveness of sins could not be obtained otherwise than by the Lord's Supper. Luther himself furnishes the answer. "Christ has bestowed the forgiveness of sins in the Lord's Supper, as also in the Gospel, wherever it is preached." (I). Luther had the conviction that people could obtain the forgiveness of sins not only in the Sacrament, but whenever they accepted in true faith the Gospel of the Grace of God, which is offered to us in the Saviour. For, whenever he mentions the means which God employs to give grace and salvation, he never names the Holy Supper alone, but sometimes the Word alone. Where however, he sets forth his fuller meaning, he speaks of the Word and the Sacrament. He indeed ascribes all the power and efficacy of the Holy Supper, not to the objects which are eaten and drunk, and not to the transaction of eating and drinking, but to the Word of Christ, offering the forgiveness of sins. (I). Luther considers that the efficacy of the Sacrament lies not only in itself, but also in the Word of the Gospel, wherever it is proclaimed. We cannot therefore say that in this, he differed much from Calvin.

III. Does the Difference between Luther's and Calvin's Conception of the Supper consist in the fact, that Luther emphasises the Objective Side of the Sacrament, while Calvin emphasises the Subjective Side?.

It is said that with Luther, all the power and the truth of the Sacrament depend on the Word of the Institution, and on the Promise connected with it. This Word effects that not only at the First Communion, but at every celebration, the body and the blood of Christ are present, given and received. Luther is thus said to stress the OBJECTIVE aspect of the Sacrament.

On the other hand, it is said that according to Calvin's view, the truth of the Sacrament is a spiritual partaking, of Jesus Christ, which is nothing else but the faith which embraces Christ with His merits and benefits, with the whole trust of the mind. (2) This would be a purely SUBJECTIVE view. But, as Müller (1) points out, "It

(1) Kahnis, Lutherische Dogmatik - Vol. II, p. 404.

Lehre vom Abendmahl, page 327.

(2) Julius Müller, page 419.

would be very strange if Calvin, who had not the reputation of a dull mind should be so stupid, as to credit Christ with giving pledges of a thing which is not to be effected by Him, but by those who believe in Him. Now, all who have studied Calvin's teaching know that he held no such opinion". Calvin frequently repeats in his writings, what he says in his Institutes. (IV. Chap. 17, par. 5), "There is a difference between their mode of speaking and mine. According to them, to eat is merely to believe, while I maintain that the flesh of Christ is eaten by believing. According to them, eating is faith, whereas it rather seems to me to be an effect of faith". Calvin thinks of this Spiritual Partaking thus. Christ Himself acts through the mysterious power of the Holy Spirit in the souls of men and communicates to them the eternal heavenly life, which proceeds from His glorified Body, so that they become of His flesh and of His bones. (Ephes. V.30). Calvin is far from thinking that the most intimate communion consists in the conformity to Christ's will, or in the imitation of His virtues. He considers it a great mystery, (Eph. V.32). which cannot be grasped. Only those who accept His Promises in true Faith, are partakers of this union with Christ, so that the Spiritual Partaking of Christ depends on Faith, but is not, by any means, identical with faith. He does not hold a merely Subjective View.

IV. Does the Difference between Luther's and Calvin's Teaching on the Lord's Supper issue from their different Conceptions of this Believing Enjoyment?

Luther and Calvin ascribe a different meaning to Faith in the usage of the Sacrament. According to Luther, the substance of the Holy Supper, the Body and Blood of Christ, wherever the Sacrament is celebrated in the way, prescribed by its Divine Founder, is at once received by all who partake of the elements, even by those who do not believe in Christ's grace and Promise. For Christ has through His Word, so closely united His body and His blood with the bread and Wine, that they cannot be separated from each other in the use of

the Holy Supper. It is well known that Luther taught this. In the Smalkald Articles (III. Art. 6), he says that the body and blood are not only offered to pious Christians, and received by them, but also by the Wicked.

According to Calvin, the life-giving food is presented to all, also to those who do not believe. But to Faith, he attributes the importance that only those receive the food that believe. For on this point, he lays down the principle that Christ, in so far as He is the lifegiving bread, and the offering made on the Cross, cannot without His Spirit, enter into the body of man, but only believers receive His Spirit. It is false then to say that Calvin makes the Reality of the Sacrament dependent on the Faith of the Receiver. Notwithstanding agreement on this point, there yet remains the distinction between Luther and Calvin, that Luther considers that the unworthy also receive the Substance of the Sacrament, while Calvin is of the opinion that they only receive the signs of the Bread and Wine.

When we consider the distinction in itself, however, we need not attach great importance to it. As Müller says, "The Church has to care, not what the unworthy but what the Worthy receive." (I). Besides Luther, like Calvin, often confesses that the Sacramental partaking without the Spiritual partaking, is profitable to no one, from which it would appear that Luther's and Calvin's views as to the Communion of the Unworthy, do not show any deep seated difference in thought. (V). Does the difference between the Lutheran and Calvinist teaching on the Lord's Supper consist in the greater assurance of the receiving of grace which the Lutheran communicant enjoys?

"Every Lutheran who comes to the Sacrament, relying on the Word, is assured that he will partake of the body and blood of Christ. The Calvinist on the other Hand, is led to examine anxiously his faith and worthiness, and so is exposed to the pangs of conscience." (2).

(1). p. 425.

(2). Julius Müller, p.427.

This is a comparison often made to the detriment of Calvin's teaching. But when we examine the question, we find that there is not much in this distinction. For they who accept Luther's Teaching on the Lord's Supper, although they are assured that they will receive the substance of the Sacrament, i.e., the body and blood of Christ, have to come desiring and praying for the salutary partaking, just as the followers of Calvin do. They know that this salutary partaking is denied to the unworthy.

According to the Lutheran teaching, a more horrible evil consists in taking the Communion unworthily, than in not taking it at all, through the fear of being unworthy. It will therefore follow that the communicants must be most anxious about their worthiness. This worthiness, both Luther and Calvin hold, consists in Repentance and Faith. That the latter generally adds preeminently Love, as well as a pure and holy life, is of no importance, as a point of distinction, since Luther and the Lutherans continually do the same.

VI. Does the difference between Luther's and Calvin's teaching on the Lord's Supper issue from their different ideas of the Faith necessary for the right use of the Supper?

We cannot conceal the fact that there is a difference in their con-
-ceptions of this Faith, a difference which is somewhat obscure. When Luther speaks of the Faith which is needed for the fruitful partaking of the Supper, he understands generally, not a certain permanent con-
-viction of the substance of the Sacrament, but the confidence that the Divine Grace and the Forgiveness of sins is offered there. As he says in his Small Catechism, (I) "He is right worthy, who has faith in these words, 'Given for you and shed for you for the remission of your sins'." This is also clear from the fact that Luther denies that the sacramental partaking is salutary, if the spiritual partaking is absent. By this spiritual partaking, he means the Faith that relies on the merits of Christ and appropriates the Living Son of God. Not in exactly the same words, but in a similar fashion, Calvin speaks of -----
(I) Kleines Bekenntnis.

the Faith which is necessary for the Sacrament. He often teaches that Faith is the Trust which grasps Christ, and His Death and Resurrection and which rests on the Salvation won by Christ.(1). For both Luther and Calvin, this Faith is the justifying, saving Faith.

But at other times, Luther teaches differently about this Faith, especially in his book; "Dass die Worte: das ist mein Leib noch feststehen"(2). He denies there the reality of the Zwinglian Sacrament. He denies to the Zwinglian, not merely the fruit, and the effect, but even the Substance. In that writing, he says, "It is well and fitting that the proud and godless blasphemers be put away, so that they do not partake of the Holy Sacrament, for it is not right to cast the Holy Thing to dogs, nor pearls before swine. But now, since the Fanatics believe that it is merely bread and wine, then assuredly it is so. As they believe, so they have. They eat merely bread and wine, and enjoy the body of the Lord neither spiritually nor carnally. It is only right that our Gift be not distributed to the unworthy, but remains pure and holy for the humble alone". With these words, he designates the Faith on which the partaking of the Sacrament depends, as the orthodox recognition of the Sacrament. Some Lutheran theologians argue that Luther denied the presence of Christ at the Zwinglian Communion, only because he supposed that they did not observe it according to the words of Institution. In the Bekenntnis vom Abendmahl Christi, we read (3). "The present enemies of the Sacrament have only bread and wine, because they have altered.....even the words and the Instituted ordinance of God." But it is obvious that this accusation of Luther was not directed against the Zwinglian ritual itself, which was even stricter than that of the Lutherans, but against their interpretation of Christ's words.

"If it be that they change the words of God and Institution, and explain it in another way." It was not the Zurich ritual to which Luther objected, but the symbolical interpretation of the words of institution. Calvin's teaching regarding the faith necessary for the right use of the Lord's Supper, has often been explained by his

I. Institutes. Book.IV. Chap. 17. paras. 11 & 40.

II.Dass die Worte..Erl. Ed. 30 p.95.

III Bekenntnis vom Abendmahl. Weimar Edit. vol. 26.

opponents, e.g. Hesshuss, as if he wished to exclude from the effects of the sacrament, those who have a weak faith, so that to a man of trembling conscience, there would be given mere empty symbols. It will be easy to absolve Calvin from this "crime", as Hesshuss describes it. For, (saving in the Consensus Tigurinus, as we have seen), whenever he makes the efficacy of the sacrament to depend on the faith of the partaker, he does not demand a certain degree or measure of faith, but simply true, and not hypocritical faith. In the Institutes, (Book IV. chap. 17), he declares only those unworthy who have not the smallest spark of faith, and those as worthy, "who come as poor to a benevolent giver, sick to a physician, sinful to the author of righteousness, in fine, dead to Him who gives life." Calvin emphasises that the sacraments are for the feeble and the infirm, to heal the deficiency of their faith and love.

He says finely that this is the only and the best worthiness we can present to God, "if we come in meekness, so that He may shew His compassion, if we humble ourselves, that He may raise us up, if we accuse ourselves, so that He may justify us".

And yet, no one who has actually read Luther's and Calvin's writings on the Lord's Supper, will fail to observe, that there is a difference in their conception of the faith that is requisite for the right use of the sacrament.

Luther always states that this faith rests simply on Christ's promise and he requires the acknowledgement of the presence of the body and the blood of Christ in the Supper.

Calvin describes it as a 'Lifting up of the Soul to Christ in heaven' Who there communicates His grace to the believing soul. Ehrard and Kahnis, both quote numerous passages in this sense which might seem to teach that the influence of the Holy Ghost is of a "Wunderbar or Magisch" (I) nature. But as we have pointed out earlier in this thesis, by this "Lifting up of the soul to Heaven," Calvin was directing believers to seek for Christ, not in the carnal elements, in the signs, but in the Heavenly places, where He is enthroned at God's right hand. It might have been better however, as Müller says, if Calvin had explained this simple thing in a less symbolical way, as it has led Planck and many others to accuse him of ambiguity and confusion of thought. (2).

1. Ehrard II. p.457.460.
II. Müller. p. 433.

(Kahnis - Lehre vom Abendmahl. p.410)

VII. Does the difference in Luther's and Calvin's Teaching on the Lord's Supper issue from Calvin's Doctrine of Predestination?

Some Theologians have found the distinction between Luther's and Calvin's Eucharistic Doctrine in the presence of Predestination elements in Calvin's Testimony. This contention is based on Article 16 of the Consensus Tigurinus, "God does not exert His power indiscriminately on all who receive the Sacraments, but only on the elect. For as He enlightens unto Faith none but those whom He has fore-ordained unto life, so by the secret agency of His spirit, He makes the Elect receive what the Sacraments offer." This teaching, as we have seen, was not stressed in Calvin's Polemic writings, against Westphal and Hesshuss, but it was never formally withdrawn, since he considered Predestination as one of his fundamental dogmas. According to this representation of Calvin's doctrine, the Castaways even if they came to the Lord's Supper, fired with a most ardent desire for Communion, would be cruelly scoffed at by God, and would receive only empty symbols. (I).

Now, it is agreed that Luther held very much the same conception. This at least he had in common with Calvin, that this sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was only for the benefit (Heil), of the Elect, and that the distinction between the Chosen and the Castaway depended on God's decree. Leaving this aside, however, we must ask, what influence had Calvin's Predestinarian doctrine on his teaching on the Lord's Supper? Those who ascribe great importance to this influence, seem to hold that Calvin said that men could be saved by the Decree of God without the intervention of any other means of grace. An inner working power would lead them to everlasting life, whether they took the sacraments or despised them. But this is a mistaken notion of Calvin's view. Calvin always taught against the Anabaptists and other 'Fanatics', that God uses in the execution of His Decrees, the Word and the Sacraments as Instruments, and awakens and increases by means of them Repentance and Faith in the Elect. If a man is anxious about his eternal salvation, and if it is necessary to show him how

(I) Müller, p.433.

to overcome his fears, Calvin does not tell him to seek after the secret Will and Counsel of God, but he constantly leads him back to the Gospel and the Sacraments. He only adds this direction that he should not rely exclusively on the instruments, but that he should ascribe the whole work of his eternal salvation to God alone, Who works, where and when He pleases.

With Luther, there are two Categories of Communicants, The Worthy, who are armed with justifying, saving faith, and the Unworthy, who do not possess that faith.

So with Calvin, the Elect are the Worthy, and the Rejected are the Unworthy. Calvin does not agree with Bucer, (1) who makes a distinction between the unworthy and the godless. No one can prove that Calvin allows the Elect to benefit by the Sacrament, before they attain to a state of faith. On the contrary, in the first words of the Chapter on the Lord's Supper in his Institutes, he rejects this opinion. And if Calvin seems to think that men, who at one time took the Communion without benefit, because they were without faith, may afterwards, when awakened from their sleep, derive blessings from the Supper, we must not forget that Luther's teaching lost some of its severity in its distinction between the Worthy, and the Unworthy guests. Luther allows that for all those who unworthily partake of the Lord's Supper, and later, through the grace of God, become worthy partakers of it, their former unworthy partaking will not lead to their judgment. We find therefore on this point, no important difference between the teachings of Calvin and Luther. From our enquiry, we find that so far, Luther and Calvin are in accord as to the effect of the Sacrament. Even theologians of great standing in the Lutheran Church, do not deny this. According to Martin Chemnitz, "About the virtue, efficacy, use and fruit of the Sacrament, there is no dispute. About these, we are all agreed." (2). This accord does not only concern the beneficial effect, but also

(1). See the Wittenberg Concordia. Thesis; page 112.

(2). Chemnitz. De fundamentis sacrae coenae. (Chap.3).

the effect on those who take the Sacrament unworthily.

Luther warns those who take the Sacrament unworthily that they will meet with great difficulties (Schwierigkeiten), but he does not mention what these difficulties will be. He only repeats the assertion of St. Paul that the unworthy partakers of it sin against the body and blood of our Lord and that they will be judged for this, but he does not say what punishment they will receive.

In this respect, there is no indication of any important difference between the teachings of Calvin and Luther. For the former bases his opinion regarding the effect of the Sacrament on those who unworthily receive it, entirely in analogy with the known but despised Word of God. Calvin says, "We nowhere read that they bring death upon themselves by receiving Christ unworthily, but by rejecting Him." (1). He tells us that the despising of God's word has brought damnation to no one, who did not understand it, and he thinks in the same manner of the Lord's Supper. The Apostle does not pronounce judgment on those who do not come at all to the Table of the Lord, but on those who have heard the Words of Institution and Promise, and who must therefore have a notion, however obscure, of the meaning of the Supper, and who are yet not afraid to pollute it through their lack of reverence.

We can therefore say that there are many points of agreement between Calvin and Luther as to the effect of the Lord's Supper, but we shall find that they have different views as to the Substance of the Sacrament.

THE SUBSTANCE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Difference in the Conception of the Connection (a) between the Substance and the Effect, (b) between the Substance and the Signs. If we regard the matter in a general way, it might seem that Calvin has the same view of the Substance of the Supper as Luther. Calvin says sometimes not only that Christ is the Substance of the Supper, but he often says that the flesh and blood of Christ are offered us in the Sacrament. We recall such expressions as these, "Christ gives us His own body and blood in the Lord's Supper,"

(1). Institutes. IV. Chap. 17. para. 33.

CHAPTER NINETEEN.

--- Sources of Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Was Ratramnus the Precursor of Calvin's Doctrine?

CHAPTER NINETEEN.

The Sources of Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Was Ratramnus the Precursor of Calvin's Doctrine?

"He nourishes us with His flesh," "He makes us partakers of His flesh," and so forth. However at other times, he seems to deny the presence of the flesh of Christ in the Sacrament. In the Institutes, Book IV. Chap. 17, para. 30., he rejects the dogma of the carnal presence as an insipid invention, but his words have to be carefully examined. He does not deny the presence of the flesh of Christ in the Supper. On the contrary, he is convinced that it is present, but he wishes it to be understood, not in a carnal but in a spiritual way. There need be no suspicion that he chose these expressions in order to approach the Lutheran Doctrine. His dogmatic principles compelled him to take account of the glorified nature of Christ, and therefore, of His glorified Flesh and Blood. For, in Calvin's opinion, the Glorified Body of Christ, intervenes in a certain way between the divine nature of Christ, and the believer, so that it conveys to his soul, the divine efficacy and power. Indeed he attributes to the divine flesh of Christ, a special life-giving power.(1). If it seems strange to some, to ascribe flesh and blood to the ascended and glorified body of Christ, we have to remember that Luther as well as Calvin, ascribes flesh and blood to the body of Christ even after its ascension. Notwithstanding this apparent agreement as to the Substance of the Lord's Supper, there is yet a difference in the views of Calvin and Luther as to the connection between the Substance and the effect of the Sacrament.

(a). Calvin brings the Substance and the Effect into much closer connection than Luther.

According to Calvin, the one cannot be separated from the other. Nobody can partake of the Substance without experiencing the Salutory Effect.

According to Luther, a separation between the Substance and the Effect may take place in the case of the unworthy, who partake of the substance, without obtaining the benefit intended by Christ. With the above mentioned difference in conception, there is another nearly allied

(1) Institutes, IV. Chap. 17, paras. 8 & 9.

(b). Luther makes a closer union than Calvin of the Substance of the Lord's Supper and its Symbols.

According to Luther, anyone who receives the Symbols, receives also the Substance, whereas Calvin believes that the unworthy receive the Symbols without the Substance.

According to Luther, Christ communicates the presence of His Flesh and Blood in the Lord's Supper to the bread and wine, in order that He may communicate it to those who partake of the signs.

According to Calvin, Christ does not communicate the presence of His body and blood to the bread and wine, but to the souls of men, so that the use of bread and wine, as appointed by Christ is a symbol and pledge of that hidden fellowship with Christ. For, that Christ comes down into the bread and wine, Calvin decidedly denies. But that He comes into men's souls, he steadfastly maintains.

Luther says that Christ gives Himself not merely With the Bread and Wine, but IN and Under the Bread and Wine.

Calvin says that believers receive the body and blood of Christ, as they receive the signs.

From this, there arises another difference between Calvin and Luther.

Luther teaches that we receive Christ with the same organ that we receive the bread and wine, that is with the mouth, while Calvin thinks that we receive the symbols with the Mouth, but the body of Christ with Faith, as the mouth of the soul.

CALVIN'S CONCEPTION OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER IN CONTRAST WITH LUTHER'S.

Calvin teaches that the body, or, as he is accustomed to call it, the flesh of the Lord, (John VI.). is the Substance of the Sacrament in that from it, a quickening power comes down into the souls of believers. We have seen that he often uses phrases like these, "To feed our souls on the substance of the flesh," "This substance is Heavenly Food;" "We are joined in substantial union with Christ," and so forth. By such expressions, he means to say that that quickening power (Virtus) proceeds neither from our faith, nor from the Word of the Gospel, nor from the Holy Spirit, but in a mysterious way, from the substance of the glorified flesh of Christ.

He denies categorically that this Substance can be commingled with the bodies of the believers or with their souls, for the flesh of Christ is contained in Heaven until the Day of Judgment. Therefore it cannot be present on earth according to its substance. He explains it more exactly in words like these, "Life flows into us from the substance of the flesh and blood of Christ; We receive life from the substance of the flesh and blood of Christ; Christ breathes His own life out of the substance of His flesh into our souls; Christ pours the vivifying energy of His flesh into us."

Calvin's conception of substance (I), as Professor Lindsay has pointed out, contains the root of his theory. Out of the human nature of Christ, now exalted in divine glory, (or, to put it in Calvin's words), out of His flesh, there flows a peculiar, quickening power into the souls of believers on partaking of the Lord's Supper, so that they become united with their divine Head in the closest way.

LUTHER'S CONCEPTION OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Luther, on the other hand, makes the body of Christ the Substance of the Lord's Supper, and he denies to it this quickening energy, ascribed to it by Calvin. Luther could not do otherwise, since he grants this substance of the Sacrament, also to the unworthy.

This feature of Calvin's theory, has lead Lutheran theologians, old and new, to attribute to him an ambiguity of thought. They are accustomed to complain that he confuses the substance of the Lord's Supper with its efficacy. As a matter of fact, Calvin cannot separate the two, since to him, the divine substance of the sacrament and its quickening energy are one and the same thing.

From the above elucidation of the relative teaching of Luther and Calvin, we already see that we must make some modification of Chemnitz' dictum, that there is between Calvin and Luther no difference in conception as to the virtue, efficacy, use and fruit of the Sacrament.

Calvin asserts that the quickening energy of the glorified flesh of Christ, whence arises the mystical union of believers with Him, and

(I). Lindsay. II. p.59.

their engrafting into His life, is not only assured to them in the Lord's Supper, but is also communicated to them for the nourishing, increasing, and strengthening of that union.

Does Luther teach that this engrafting into Christ's life is the direct effect of the Holy Supper?

In Luther, we find a similar thought only in these passages, in which he teaches that the Resurrection of our body is effected by the communication of the Body of Christ in the Lord's Supper.

This view, as we have seen, Luther afterwards abandoned, and it can be readily realised why he did not designate the Nourishing and Increasing of the Mystical Union with Christ, as the end and effect of the Supper.

According to Calvin, the quickening energy of that divine flesh penetrates into the souls of believers, whereas according to Luther, Christ gives His flesh and blood through the bodily mouth to the unworthy as well as to the worthy. Seeing then that all receive the flesh, the unworthy would perforce receive the nourishing and increasing of the Mystical Union. This, of course, would be absurd, and impossible to maintain. Luther makes no such claims for the body and blood of Christ. He teaches on the contrary, that the Flesh and Blood of Christ are given as a token of the forgiveness of sins. This token is given to all, who receive the Sacrament, but while for the believer, it provides a most precious assurance, it works to the detriment of the profane and unworthy, through their own negligence and contempt.

From the above we see then, that there was a decided difference between the views of Luther and Calvin as to the Force and Efficacy of the Sacrament. If we return now to the Substance of the

Sacrament, we find that according to Calvin, this Substance is a vitalising energy which proceeds from the glorified flesh of Christ, and flows into our souls.

Luther, on the other hand, believes that the divine Substance of the Lord's Supper, consists not in the power and efficacy of the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ, but in this body and this blood itself.

He says, about this Substance, that whenever the Holy Communion is partaken of, according to the Institution of Christ, (i.e. in a Church

which teaches Christ's presence), the Substance is in closest union with the Bread and Wine.

If we now seek to arrive at a final decision as to the fundamental difference in the views of Calvin and Luther on the subject of the Lord's Supper, we shall probably find it in the distinction we have seen drawn between the Substance of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and the quickening power which proceeds from it. Calvin maintains against Hesshuss that there was no dispute about the Substantial Presence, nor about the Substantial Partaking, but only about the Mode and Manner. (I). Similar expressions are often found in his writings and in those of his followers. It seems to have escaped even his keen intellect, that the different views as to the "Mode", had really their ground in the fact that he and Luther had different ideas of WHAT is present and distributed in the Lord's Supper to the believing soul. For Calvin denied, as we have seen, that the substance of the glorified Christ is present in the Lord's Supper. He maintained that Christ is present by the Lifegiving power which proceeds from His flesh, and is efficacious in the believing soul.

Luther, on the contrary, maintained that the Substance of the body and blood of Christ Himself is distributed and received in the Holy Supper.

This is the secret of the difference in view between Luther and Calvin

If we consider the revised version of Luther's teaching of 1528 onwards, we find that he holds, that what is given, IN, WITH, and UNDER, the bread is not an "Agens", a living, active thing, which from its nature, influences, moves and transforms those who receive it, but it is a Thing which suffers itself to be treated reverently or profanely, according to the freewill of the Communicant, For this divine thing is, through the will and word of Christ so closely united with the visible elements, that it cannot be separated from them, in the partaking of the Holy Supper. And as the visible elements may be handled in a holy or in a profane manner, so this Heavenly thing has subjected itself to the freewill of the communicant.

(I). Hesshuss. Tracts II. p.506. - De vera Participazione.

In reply to Oekolampadius, who said, that he must be a fine king who allows his body to be thrown about the altar by wicked fellows, Luther defends his opinions in this ingenious way, "The honour of our Lord resides in this, that he lowered Himself in the flesh for our sake - - - -that He suffered Himself to be treated disgracefully, (unehrlich) on the Cross and on the altar."(1). To Luther then, what is present as a Pledge, is a "Res Animata", but not "Agens".

According to Calvin's teaching, what is communicated to the Christian in the Lord's Supper, is not merely a Living Thing, but an Acting (Agens), lifegiving thing. As Schneckenburger says, "Calvin holds that the Christ communicated in the Lord's Supper is in no other manner present than as the Communicator (Mittheilende)".(2). According to Ebrard, (3) the difference in Luther's and Calvin's teaching is the difference between the "Substantia in Substantia", and the "Actus in Actu." And as this lifegiving thing concerns only the spiritual life, it therefore cannot be distributed with the bread and wine, or partaken of with the mouth. It penetrates directly into the soul without any intermediary. This lifegiving thing which is continually acting, and nourishing and increasing the spiritual life of man, cannot be received by everyone, as a thing of common use, It is only received by those whose hearts have been opened by faith. It is not possessed by men, but it possesses men. It cannot be treated well or badly by them, but it moves, inspires, and changes men. It is an "AGENS."

This lifegiving force proceeds from the glorified flesh of Christ, in such a way, that it is the instrument or the channel through which Christ, the God Man, gives His life to man. This communication, although it is continual, reaches its summit, when Christ makes us partakers of His lifegiving flesh and blood in the Sacrament. Although

- (1). Dass diese Worte - - - - Weimar Edit. vol. 23.
 (2). Schneckenburger. - - - - Die orthodoxe Lehre. p.151.
 (3). Ebrard. II. p. 458,525.

this communication consists in action, operation, and animation, one can nevertheless say that those who worthily partake of the Lord's Supper, are eating the flesh of Christ. For these and similar expressions mean that this lifegiving force is received in the inner man, in the secrecy of the soul. (1).

Melanchthon, in a communication to Theodor Vitus, speaking of the Letter which Luther wrote to the Venetians in 1543, is surprised that learned men for so many centuries, when treating of the Lord's Supper, have not thought of the distinction which subsists between an AGENS LIBERUM (a freely acting agent), and a RES ANIMATA (Animated thing). (2). In these few words, Melanchthon has touched the principal point of difference between Calvin's and Luther's teaching on the subject of the Lord's Supper. To Calvin, Christ is present as an "Agens Liberum".

We cannot however, conclude our inquiry without touching on some fluctuations of opinion through which the teaching of the one appears to approach the doctrine of the other, more closely than one would have expected from the preceding discussion.

If we examine Calvin's teaching, we can detect no fluctuations of any importance. As he defined it at the beginning, in the Institutes of 1536, and in the De Coena Domini (1540), he maintained it all his life. He may have used expressions at times which seemed to reduce the divergence between his and Luther's teaching. He says frequently in his early and his later writings, "Christ gives the true substance of His body and of His blood in the Supper". (3).

"Christ truly quickens our souls with the substance of His flesh and blood." But He never neglects to explain clearly the meaning of these expressions. We do not of course, assert that Calvin's teaching needs no rectification. There may be necessary elements lacking in his testimony, and we shall discuss certain apparent ambiguities, when we come to speak of the consistency of the theory.

Nevertheless, we affirm that the different parts of his doctrine

(1). Müller. p. 463.

(2). Corpus Reformatorum Tom. V. p. 208. Ebrard, II. 467.

(3). De Coenae - - - Tracts II. p. 169.

are fixed in such an absolute way, and are related so closely to one another, that any modification or completion by the more exact definition of what is obscure, or by the addition of what seems to be wanting, is much more difficult than the further development of Luther's teaching. (1).

We now proceed to a final glance at that teaching.

We have already made clear that, according to Luther's judgment, the divine gift of the Holy Supper is a thing which is subordinated to the partaker, and we have stated his grounds for this opinion. The communion of the unworthy seems to have forced him to this view. But we find in some of his writings, as Schenkel (2) points out, some passages which seem, to set the matter in a different light. He speaks of the flesh of Christ received in the Sacrament, as a spiritual and eternal food, which, unlike common food, is not changed into the flesh of the partaker, but which changes the partaker and makes him to resemble Christ Himself, and endows Him with the Spirit. (3). He therefore calls the body or the flesh in the Sacrament a "Gottesfleisch" a "Geistfleisch". He says of it, "It is in God and God in it. Therefore it is living, and gives life to all who eat it, both body and soul". From this it appears that the body and blood are by no means inactive in the Supper, on the contrary, that they do something, and are operative in the receiver. But Luther omits to explain how this is consistent with the partaking by the unworthy, for they then would also receive the life-giving flesh of Christ. He even speaks in some places as if he had altogether forgotten the communion of the unworthy. In connection with this, he also frequently says that the body of Christ is received by the mouth, but not torn by the teeth, and so forth, for this receiving of the true and Substantial body of Christ does not take place in a coarse or carnal way, but in a spiritual and supernatural and mysterious manner. By these words, the "Manducatio Oralis" seems to be openly withdrawn.

(1). Julius Müller, p. 464.

(2). Schenkel. Wesen des Protestantismus. Vol. I. p. 524.f.

(3). Dass diese Worte. - - - - Weimar Edit. vol. 23.

Further, Luther often asserts that the body of Christ, although it is received entirely at every communion by every guest, still remains uninjured, and without change in its glorious state at the right hand of God. In the Letter to the Swiss, (I). 13 Dec. 1537., he denies that Christ descends from, and ascends to Heaven, whether visible or invisible. "We hold firmly to this article of faith, 'Ascended to Heaven, Seated at the right hand of God'." Do such words not lead to a Dualism, to an assertion of the existence of two different kinds of body, the one partaken of in the Supper, and the other a Spiritual body? And does Luther not approach the "DYNAMISCH" view of Calvin in some places? In a well-known illustration (2). he speaks of the light which comes from one sun, and which illuminates innumerable places at the same time. He speaks of the mirror which, when smashed in a thousand pieces, will show in each piece the same image; of the Voice of the Preacher which may be heard by four or five thousand people.

Are we not led to the conclusion that with Luther, it is not really a question of the Substance, but of the Presence of an activity of the Substance? From such expressions, and there are many similar in his writings, do we not see him inclining to the idea which, at that time was the basis of the teaching of Bucer and Peter Martyr, and which afterwards, was developed in detail by Calvin?

(1). De Wette - Luthers Briefe. V. p. 85.

(2). Grosses Bekenntnis vom Abendmahl. Erl. Ed. XXX. p.369.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN.

Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper.
Is It Scriptural?

THE SCRIPTURAL BASIS OF CALVIN'S THEORY OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

It is now necessary to examine how Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper stands in relation to Holy Scripture. In order to make this relation clearer, we must discover what exactly is the Biblical Doctrine of this Sacrament. What was the thought and intention of the Lord, when He instituted the Holy Feast? One thing is clear. Christ never intended, to set a problem to rack the brains of future ages.(1). He did not intend, that the history of His Supper should be a Passion History. (2). Against this, Jülicher (3) has justly protested, maintaining that in the Supper, we have a parable, the simplicity of which is demanded by the very solemnity of the original circumstances. Jülicher, however, carries the simplifying process rather far, and Haupt (4) is warranted in replying that the Master could not be precluded, by any lack of understanding on the part of His disciples, from expressing in that solemn feast the deepest thoughts of His heart. But Jülicher is so far right, that in its main outlines, the Supper was intended by Jesus to be, not a problem, but a rite, the general purpose of which was perfectly intelligible to the men who sat round Him that night at the table. (5). During the last 30 or 40 years, the New Testament teaching on the Lord's Supper has been examined and discussed with a critical minuteness and care which has never before been devoted to it. And though the Critical scholars are by no means agreed as to the general conclusions that ought to be come to regarding the nature and significance of the ordinance, at all events, their united labours have done something to indicate the path by which the Church can alone hope to arrive at a harmonious, because a historical view of the subject.

(1). Weizsäcker: Apostolic Age II. p. 281.

(2). Loofs. Hauck - Herzog. Real. Ency. Art. Abendmahl. I. 44.

(3). Jülicher, - Theologische Abhandlungen, p. 240.

(4). Haupt, Über die Ursprüngliche Form and Bedeutung der Abendmahlsworte, page 24.

(5). Lambert, the Sacraments of the New Testament, page 284.

Moffat, The Lord's Supper in the 4th Gospel, Expositor, 1913.

There are certain things which criticism may be said to have determined finally. One point in particular must be regarded as fundamental - that all accurate thinking on the subject must start from the historical Supper in the Upper Room. And if it is absurd to start

from the later dogma regarding the Lord's Supper, and draw inferences from that as to the original teaching on the subject, it is equally absurd to begin, as is so often done, not at the centre, but at the circumference, not with the narratives of the Supper, but with the 6th Chapter of John. (1). If there is anything which historical criticism may be said to have determined beyond possibility of reasonable challenge, it is this, that the only way in which we can hope to arrive at a true doctrine of the Supper is by studying the actions and words of Jesus at the historical Supper in Jerusalem. Lobstein (2) has pointed out that this was the professed aim of all the Reformers, as of Schleiermacher, the 'dominating inspiration of the revival of the Protestant theology of our age'. It would be easy to gather and collect from the works of the Reformers, many categorical declarations concerning the normative and typical character of the first Supper. When Luther wished to combat the sacrifice of the Mass, he insisted on the necessity of maintaining the identity of the institution of Christ and of the doctrine and practice of the present time, and he makes of this identity the criterion of the Christian character of our worship, and of our conception of the Lord's Supper.(3).

When Zwingli deals with the Supper in his most extended and complete dogmatic work, he begins by asserting that if the usage of the Sacrament had been kept up according to the institution of Christ, the Church would have been saved from the most criminal abuses. (4). When Calvin in his Tract, De Coena Domini, lays down the lines of discussion, he begins with these words, "First, we shall explain to what end and for what purpose, our Lord instituted this holy sacrament." (5), and in the course of his exposition, he frequently refers to the ordinance of the Lord, either to prove his own doctrine, or to combat the ideas of his opponents. "So that we may despatch all these troubles, we must reduce all to the ordinance of the Lord, as the rule which will not allow us to fail, when we follow it.(5)."

Gore, the body of Christ, - p.p.21. 242.

(2). Lobstein - La doctrine de la sainte Cène p.13.f.f.

(3). Luther - De Captivitate Baby. Wac. Buchheim. p.162.

(4). De vera et falsa Relig. III. 240.

(5). Tracts II. p. 164. f.f.

Lobstein comments however on the meagre use which Zwingli made of his great rule and principle, and how in his controversy with Luther, he fails to appeal to the normative authority of the first Supper, and bases his argument on John, Chap. 6.

Lobstein is of opinion that Calvin also is dominated by the Johannine point of view. "Nevertheless", he says, "Indications referring to the typical character of the first Supper celebrated by Christ, are not entirely wanting in the capital work of Calvin (1). And as the Reformers frequently refer to the original intention and the primitive idea of the Lord, Schleiermacher also, asks that our Supper should make present and actual the impression produced on the first disciples by the word and institution of the Master.(2). And now, as regards the Scriptural basis of the Lord's Supper, it is common knowledge that we have four different narratives of the event. Each of the three Synoptists gives an account of the scene.

John, on the other hand, does not do so, though he speaks of a supper that took place on the night before the Master's death. But to compensate for John's silence, we have Paul's important narrative in the 11th Chap. of 1st. Cors.

Until the appearance of Westcott and Hort's New Testament in 1881, it was generally recognised that an examination of these four narratives, reveals the existence of two distinct groups or textual types, one type being represented by Mark and Matthew, and the other by Luke and Paul. But Westcott and Hort raised a serious difficulty in the way of this principle of grouping. Having examined the Bezan Codex (D), and several of the old Latin versions, they struck out from the Lukean account of the Supper, not only the significant words, "This do in remembrance of Me", but the phrase, "Which is given for you". This would of course throw Luke's narrative of the Supper entirely out of line with Paul's. But in spite of the high authority of Westcott and Hort, recent criticism tends more and more to decide against them here, and the Textus Receptus is now generally followed in these passages.(3).

(1). Lobstein, p. 15.f.

(2). Schleiermacher, Der Christliche Glaube. p.139.123.

(3). Lambert, p. 245; Schultzen, Das Abendmahl im N.T. p.112.
and Schweizer, Das Abendmahl im Zusammenhang mit dem Leben
Jesus, I. p.46.

As regards the priority within these groups, Mark and Paul, are usually given the preference. In the question of the relative authority of the two, while Jülicher and Spitta favour Mark, Dr. Percy Gardner decides very emphatically for Paul. Lambert regards Paul and Mark as having equal claims, and thinks it impossible to assign any distinct priority to either. (I).

On this question, Calvin is on sound exegetical ground. He accepts the three Synoptic accounts, and also Paul's contribution in I. Cors. and he grants implicitly that there are two groups of texts. It can hardly be said which he favours, as he uses both, although perhaps more frequently the Paul - Lukean testimony. His doctrine is worked out on broad exegetical lines.

As regards the Johannine teaching in Chap. 6, it must be acknowledged that in a general sense, Calvin related this to his doctrine of the Lord's Supper. He could not well do otherwise, holding as he did a strong belief in the Mystical union which subsists between Christ and the believing soul. He does not however, base his teaching on this passage. He rather accepts its general spirit, and allows himself to be influenced by its parabolic teaching of the vivific power of the body of Christ. He accepts it as a parable. Calvin was too busily engaged in combatting the Romanist theory to allow the passage more than a parabolic significance. In his Commentary on John 6, he remarks upon the unusual succession of phrases, "Bread which cometh down from heaven; Eating the flesh; Drinking the blood; Eating Him", etc., but he does not relate them directly to the Lord's Supper.

It has sometimes been said that Calvin works by a priori methods in his treatment of the Scripture. He has been accused of setting forth with fixed dogmatic conceptions of the Lord's Supper, and of referring to the New Testament for corroboration of his predetermined theory.

- (I). Jülicher. Theologische Abhandlungen, p.257.
 Spitta, Umchristentum, p. 266.
 Gardner. The Origin of the Lord's Supper. p.12.
 Lambert; The Sacraments of the New Testament. p.249.
 Moffat; Expositor, 1913 - The Lord's Supper in the 4th Gospel.

In repelling this objection, we must remember the sacred place that Scripture held in the estimation of the Reformed church. The Holy Scripture was their Rule of Faith. Calvin rather draws his theory from the Scriptures, and his language is replete with Biblical terms. Prof. Wernle says, "Calvin deduces all his ideas from the Bible. It is his codex of doctrine and of life". (1).

Much of the present day discussion on the Lord's Supper is concerned with its occasion and its date. Was it at a Passover feast or at an ordinary evening meal? Was it celebrated on the regular day of the Jewish Passover (the 14th Nisan), or was it celebrated the day before? It is known that the Synoptists favour the first alternative, while it is quite clear from the Johannine narrative that the Lord's Supper cannot have been held on the regular night of the Jewish Passover. This question has been very keenly debated, and some scholars have arrived at the decided opinion that there was no connection whatsoever, outward or inward, between the Supper of Jesus and the Jewish Passover. (2). Several modern writers have suggested that our Lord and His disciples kept the feast a day sooner than it was kept by the rest of the Jewish community. In all such questions, Calvin had little if any interest. He accepted the general facts of the common narrative.

He was more concerned with the divine significance and mystery of the feast than with its occasion and mode of celebration. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the thought of the Passover underlay and coloured Calvin's eucharistic doctrine. From the symbolism of the Passover, he drew some of his most significant teaching. From the Passover, we can deduce a relation between the Supper and the death of Christ. An ordinary meal of bread and wine might not suggest this idea, but a paschal meal clearly suggests it. If Jesus rose towards the end of a solemn repast, at which He and His disciples had been partaking together of the lamb of the Jewish Passover, and taking a loaf in His hands, brake

-
- (1). Wernle, Akademischer Vortrag, p; 31.
 (2). Grafe, Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche; II.p, 136.
 (3). Godet; Beyschlag; Lobstein, and many others.
 Zöckler, Herzog-Hauck. vol. IX. p. 32,42.
 Sanday. Hastings Dict of the Bible. vol. II. p.634.

it and gave it to his disciples to eat, and then said of it, "This is My body for you", the analogy between the slain lamb and the broken bread is apparent.

Calvin clearly embraced this Passover analogy, and related the Lord's Supper to the death of Christ. Again, the connection of the Passover with the Supper has a bearing upon the question whether the latter was meant to be repeated. In the case of the Passover, every Jew was familiar with the words, "And this day shall be unto you for a memorial; and ye shall keep it a feast to the Lord throughout your generations". (Exod. 12,14), and if the Lord's Supper sprang out of a Passover meal, and was deliberately set by Jesus in this relation of filiation to it, that goes to confirm what was evidently the belief of the church from the earliest days, that Jesus both intended and commanded the repetition of the feast as a memorial of Himself. Now Calvin cannot be said to lay the same emphasis on the Commemorative aspect as Zwingli, who was accused of stressing it too strongly. To many Lutherans, as we have seen, that appeared to be the main feature of Zwingli's doctrine, and yet, Calvin clearly maintains the institutional character of the Supper. We have seen the great desire which he expressed for its frequent celebration, and how he was frustrated in his desire to establish the weekly celebration in the church of Geneva. On the subject much debated today, (I). as to whether Christ instituted the holy Supper, or if it owes its institutional character to Paul, Calvin would have only one answer. He would lead us back to the Upper Room. He had no doubts as to the fact, that it was Christ who instituted His own feast, and commanded His disciples to continue to celebrate it as a memorial of His death, 'Until He come'.

(I). Guy; Was Holy Communion instituted by Jesus Christ? (1924).p.95.

Once more, if the Supper took place at the close of a Paschal Feast and was designed by Jesus to serve a purpose similar in His community, to that which the Passover had fulfilled in the history of the Jews, it naturally claims an inheritance in the associations and ideas of sacrificial meals generally, and of the great Jewish Covenant-meal of redemption in particular. Its conjunction with the older rite suggests that it was meant to be an act of thanksgiving and worshipful communion with God, and at the same time, an act of social fellowship and brotherly love, by which Christ's disciples bound themselves to one another. This aspect of the Passover, Calvin decidedly associated with the Lord's Supper. We have seen in our elucidation of his teaching how he makes mention of the attitude of mind and heart with which we must approach the Holy Table. We have noted his exhortations to Thanksgiving and a holy life; and also to brotherly love and charity. He does not lay so much stress as Zwingli on the Lord's Supper as a "Community Sign", but he certainly held that it was a rite, like the Passover, to be celebrated by God's chosen people. His views on ecclesiastical discipline took their origin from his fervent desire to keep pure the body of the Lord, the Church, and he exhorts all Christians to realise their unity in Christ. He also explained the resulting duties of Christians to one another as members of one great body. We have seen how he stressed what Seeberg calls the 'sozialethisch' (I) aspect of the Holy Feast.

All these features of the Passover are found in Calvin's teaching on the Lord's Supper, and this was only to be expected, when we remember how closely he related the Old Testament to the New. It is a criticism (2) often levelled against him, that he made no distinction between the Spirit of the Bible and the Spirit of Christ; that he showed too, much respect to the Law and the Old Testament, and was forgetful of the sweet reasonableness of our Lord. But in his relating of the Supper to the Passover, He was on sure and certain ground.

(1). Seeberg. IV p. 608.

(2). Prof. Choisy, to the present writer, July 1925.

But now, when we approach the actual words of the Institution of the Sacrament, we find that Calvin's particular view raises many thorny and difficult questions.

A long controversy has raged on the question, "What did Jesus mean, when He said, - 'This is My body'?" For many a day, the copula was fastened upon, and the point was keenly discussed whether the ESTI denotes identity of substance, or merely points to a representation of the body by the Bread. We have seen how Oekolampadius pointed out, as many (1) have done since, that if Jesus spoke in Aramaic, He would not use any copula at all, but would simply say, "This - My Body." That Jesus meant that the bread which He had handed to His disciples was literally His earthly body is, of course, impossible. That the body which Jesus dispensed in the Upper Room, was His Glorified Body, is equally inconceivable. Now Calvin is of opinion that certain forces, proceed from Christ's Glorified Body, and are communicated to the believing soul. This brings us face to face with the alternative (2) - either the Sacrament of the Church is something essentially different from the original Supper, or the body of Christ, as He sat at the table in Jerusalem, must have experienced some magical transformation of which our historical narratives have nothing to tell us. "From all such dreams and speculations", says Lambert, "we can only be delivered by adhering firmly to our historical statements, and refusing to allow dogmatic considerations of one kind or another to tempt us to assume this, that, or the other miraculous event for which our sources afford no warrant whatsoever." (2). These are hard words, as Adamson (3), has pointed out, and we must see if they are justified. Lambert (4) himself distinguishes between the immediate didactic value of the Supper, and its special purpose as an institution. There is certainly no Scriptural warrant for Calvin's particular description of the "Mode" of the mystical communion between the believer and Christ, but we have always to remember that he claimed no special authority

(1). Zahn's Einleitung, I. p.I - 24.

(2). Lambert, p. 279 - 210.

(3). Adamson, The Christian Doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

(4). Lambert, p. 315.

for his particular explanation. Calvin certainly asserted, as we have seen, that his doctrine was based on Holy Scripture. Luther also made such claims, but we find no mention in the Bible of his particular doctrines of ubiquity and 'communicatio idiomatum'.

The Zwinglian Alloeosis also finds no warrant in the first Supper in the Upper Room. If we regard the Lord's Supper as an acted parable or a 'twin parable', as Jülicher (1) and Lambert (2), both suggest it might seem that there was something almost prophetic in the relation of the first supper to subsequent celebrations. Gretillat has suggested this explanation." As the paschal feast was typical (typique) of the institution of the supper, so the words of the institution of the Supper were only prophetic, and the act which they accompanied, could only be the pledge of succeeding celebrations? (3). And yet Calvin would have been the first to object to any theory which of necessity, involved that the first celebration in the upper room was not a true communion. He would have regarded the Supper, as partaken of daily or weekly in the New Testament times, as reproducing in all its essentials, the rite inaugurated on the night on which the Lord Jesus was betrayed.

Professor H.R. Mackintosh has discussed this point, and he sees the defect of Calvin's theory in the quasi-material manner in which he regards the flesh and blood of Christ. He thinks that the Reformed writers, and Calvin in particular, were haunted by the fear, that it is not enough to know that in the sacrament, the soul feeds upon Christ by faith and love. Calvin tried to get behind that simple thought. He tried to grasp some spiritual and heavenly substance, by assimilating which, celestial benefits become ours. "In the higher reaches of his theory, Calvin put forward certain speculations which have very little meaning, and which he himself must have been at a loss to understand." (4).

(1). Jülicher, Theologische Abhandlungen, p. 243.

(2). Lambert. p. 282.

(3). Gretillat. Théologie. Systematique. p. 512.

(4). Mackintosh. Expositor. March 1903, p. 194.

Prof. Mackintosh would not object to Calvin's theory, did he make plain, that what 'flesh and blood' mean, is not any 'indefinable substance', but simply Christ Himself, as a Person, incarnate, crucified, and clothed in the gospel of His death' (I). But did Calvin not mean that?

Did he not inveigh against all material conceptions? He not only regarded the words of Institution as symbolical; but also such phrases as 'eat and drink', and 'flesh and blood'.

He regarded the former as signifying 'spiritual assimilation', and the latter as pointing to an incarnate Redeemer, and our interest in His death. We do not claim that Calvin's doctrine reproduced exactly the words and sense of Scripture, but we claim that the spirit of his theory reproduced the spirit of the first celebration in the Upper Room. He taught a real communion of the believer with the Person of Christ.

There is no doubt that he emphasised the Human nature of that Person but that was because of his zeal to secure to the communicant the treasures of Christ's Sacrificial death.

We have always to remember too, that 'Christ's flesh' and the 'Substance of Christ's flesh' were always regarded in his teaching as signifying spiritual Energy and Power.

A Second element in Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper which has to meet the charge of being Unscriptural, is the conception of which we have repeatedly made mention, that the soul of the believer partakes of the substance of Christ by ascending to heaven, and feeding upon His body there. We cannot of course claim that this has any warrant in Holy Scripture, but Calvin would have been the last to make such a claim. We have already seen that he put this forward as a devout exhortation. It was nothing more than the 'Sursum Corda' of the Early Church, and it was enjoined as an answer to the Lutheran Consubstantiation, and the Roman Catholic Transubstantiation, both of which brought down the body from Heaven, and associated it with the bread. We do not think that there was anything material in this conception of Calvin. He held firmly to the thought that in the sacrament, there is an actual and spiritual communication of grace. When he speaks of a 'materia coelestis', he does not mean more, than that in the sacrament, there is a presence of Christ objective, true and real.

There is one other aspect of the Scriptural doctrine of the Supper which we must touch upon, before we close, - The Eschatological.

Matthew, Mark and Luke, all reproduce the words of Christ, "I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in the kingdom of God."

This same thought is found in the Pauline sentence, "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death, until He come."

This Eschatological aspect, which here finds expression, was one, we must believe, of great importance in our Lord's view of the institution, though it has frequently had less than justice done to it in the doctrinal and liturgical formulations of the church. (1).

Some modern writers, on the other hand, have done more than justice to it, for they have presented it in an altogether exaggerated form.

Spitta, for example, entirely rejects the idea that Jesus made any reference to His death in the Supper, and insists that it is only when our Lord's words are regarded from the Eschatological point of view, that they can be rightly understood. (2).

Schweizer, who fully acknowledges the emphasis laid by our Lord on the thought of His death, has overestimated the Eschatological bearings of the Supper. (3).

But if such representations err on the side of excess, they have at least done good service by bringing into prominence the fact that the high and solemn words with which Jesus concluded the Supper and its institution, prove that He meant it to have a real and close connection with the hopes of His people for the future world. The language, of course is figurative, but it conveys an assurance and a hope.

"Here Jesus gives His disciples the express promise of a re-assembly in His company, and not only so, He turns the very observance of this parting meal into an outward reminder and plledge of the promise he

(1). Lambert. p. 305.

(2). Spitta. Umchristentum. p. 282. ff.

(3). Schweizer. Das Abendmahl. I. p. 61. ff.

gives".....The sacrament is a foretaste of the heavenly feast which they shall enjoy, when their Lord shall come again and receive them unto Himself." (1).

It is questionable whether Calvin has made enough of this eschatological aspect of the Supper. He certainly mentions it, but he does not emphasise it. This is in harmony with his whole standpoint. It is significant that Calvin wrote Commentaries on all the New Testament books save the Apocalypse. In the Insts. Bk.III. Chap. 25, sect. 10, he warns against vain and frivolous curiosity. He makes no mention there of the 'marriage supper of the Lamb'. He exhorts us to cultivate sobriety in the matter of our future state, "lest unmindful of our feeble capacity, we presume to take too lofty a flight, and be overwhelmed by the brightness of the celestial glory."

In conclusion, if we measure in a general manner, Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper by the norm of Holy Scripture, we find that in its principal features, it gives a faithful reproduction.

I. With the Bible, Calvin teaches that the Lord's Supper was designed to be a Commemoration of Christ's Sacrifice and Death, by which the new covenant was established. With Scripture, he connects its celebration with the Memorial feast out of which it sprang.

II. With the Bible, he teaches that there is in the Supper a special grace, that of a real communion with the very person of Christ Himself. The elements are not only exposed before us, but we are invited to eat and drink.

III. With the Bible, he teaches that the Supper is the Bond of Love which unites Christians with one another, and that the celebration is a public profession of their common faith in the efficacy of the death of Christ.

IV. With the Bible, he teaches that without Faith, which lays hold in Christ on the pardon of the cross and life eternal, there is no true communion iⁿ His flesh and blood. (2).

(1). Lambert, P. 309.

(2). Destrech. La Sainte Cène d'après Calvin, p. 34.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN.

Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Is it Candid and Consistent?

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN.CALVIN'S DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER. IS IT CANDID AND CONSISTENT?

Kahnis complains in his *Die Lehre vom Abendmahl*, that "It is difficult to enter into Calvin's thought on the Lord's Supper, not on account of its depth, but by reason of its artificial, indefinite and cloudy nature. For, Calvin treats those with the greatest contempt, who connect the body and blood with the elements, while yet he considers it a gross misrepresentation, if any one esteems that he does not think the elements to be vehicles of the true body and blood". (1).

This is a criticism of Calvin from the Lutheran standpoint, although it is interesting to note that Kahnis himself came to adopt the 'Dynamical' theory in his later teaching (2). He is classed by Philippi as definitely and essentially Calvinist. (3).

Dr. Alexander Schweizer, in *Die Christliche Glaubenslehre*, speaking of Calvin, says, "Calvin, who discerns a 'too much' in Luther, and a 'too little' in Zwingli, tries to preserve the golden mean, and for that reason, contrary to his usual practice, he adopts a somewhat vacillating attitude on the subject of the Lord's Supper." (4).

Martensen affirms that the Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper rests upon an overt principle of Dualism between the kingdom of Nature and the kingdom of Grace, a Dualism so thorough, that the Lord's Supper is literally divided into two parts, quite distinct, the one in heaven, and the other on earth. (5).

Lobstein, who himself professes a doctrine, somewhat similar to that of Zwingli, in his Middle period, criticises Calvin from that standpoint. "In trying to find a middle term between the Lutheran doctrine which seemed to him to be superstitious, and the point of view

(1). Kahnis. *Die Lehre vom Abendmahl*. p. 413.

(2). do. *Lutherische Dogmatik*, p. 353.f.

(3). Philippi. *Kirchliche Glaubenslehre*, V. p. 364.f.

(4). Schweizer. *Die Christliche Glaubenslehre*. II. p. 431.f.

(5). Martensen. *Christian Dogmatics*. p. 441.

of Zwingli which he considered 'profane', Calvin landed on a conception which was mistaken in two ways. It was wanting in clearness and precision. The hypothesis of the spiritual presence of the Master acting on believers by virtue of the Holy Spirit is singularly compromised by the two interpretations between which the thoughts of the Reformer oscillate. At one time, he maintains that the Holy Ghost communicates the divine and celestial forces contained in the body of Christ to believers, though Christ is now exalted at the Right hand of God. At another time, he teaches that the soul of the believer is raised on the arms of faith to Heaven, where it enjoys communion with the Saviour. But this pretended solution is not only obscure and intricate, it is wanting in all exegetical support, and scriptural proof. One can affirm that the Calvinist theory of the dynamic presence of the Lord in the Eucharistic act, is condemned without appeal by all the documents of the New Testament".(1).

Schultz who classes Calvin's theory as 'Mystisch' holds that such a view as he promulgates, cannot be consistently maintained along with a symbolical interpretation of the words of institution. "The 'Mystisch' view of Calvin must of necessity fall back on the 'Historisch' view of Zwingli, or go forward to the 'Wunderhaft' view of Luther." (2).

Wilberforce in the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, asserts that Calvin's doctrine is practically dishonest, in its ambiguity, and lack of candour. Calvin purposely confuses the issue. He speaks of Christ's body being present in its virtue, as if some force or virtue issued from His flesh. He also speaks of Christ's body being "virtually present", in the sense of "nominally", because the approach of the soul to Christ produces the same results as if it were Present. "In the one case, Christ's body is supposed to be the agent; in the other, the souls of men. This ambiguity of the words 'virtual and virtue', renders it possible for him to represent these ideas as almost identical. This was not an inconvenient circumstance as it was Calvin's purpose to invent a formula which would satisfy both the followers of Luther and of Zwingli. Besides, his whole theory depends on his doctrine of the decrees. He represents the Almighty

(1). Lobstein. La doctrine de la Sainte Cène. page 179.

(2). Schultz. Zur lehre vom heiligen Abendmahl. page 53.

as publicly granting a charter to mankind at large, which He privately annuls by a secret article, and this is to attribute conduct to the God of Truth, which would be discreditable to an earthly sovereign." (I).

Dr. Charles Hodge, who does not himself rise above Zwingli in his negative period, affirms that there are two distinct strands in Calvin's teaching. "In some places, Calvin lays all stress on the sacrificial efficacy of Christ's death as the great object appropriated in the Sacrament. In other places he lays equal stress on the idea of a life-giving power, received in the Lord's Supper from the human side of Christ's life, that is, from His body and blood." (2). The criticisms of Calvin above quoted are representative of various schools of thought, and all are at one in making this charge of ambiguity, which in some cases, amounts to an accusation of lack of candour, on the part of the great Reformer.

We shall conclude our study with a discussion as to how far these charges are justifiable.

I. It is sometimes said that Calvin attributed no Special force to the Sacrament, but taught that what is elsewhere received by faith without the signs and significant actions, is received here in the same way along with their use. It is true that Calvin depicts the grace represented in the Sacrament as being of the same general nature with what has place in the life of believers at other times.

"In the Supper", says the Consensus Tigurinus, "Christ communicates Himself to us, who however had previously imparted Himself to us, and abides in us perpetually." (3). "There is no evidence", writes Professor Paterson, "that Calvin thought that the benefits enjoyed in the Sacrament are of a different kind from those received in the use of the other means of grace, and that they were not otherwise attainable than in the Sacrament." (4). And yet we believe that for Calvin, the sacramental transaction carries in it a certain, special exhibition of grace, for the confirmation and promotion of the new life under its own form. Calvin's idea of the believer's union with Christ, rests on the supposition of an actual passing over of

-
- (1). Wilberforce, The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, p. 140. ff.
 (2). Hodge Systematic Theology. III. p. 646.
 (3). Calvin. - Tracts. - II. 218. para. 19.
 (4). Professor Paterson, Rule of Faith, p. 276.

the power of His life into their persons. It needs in this view not merely a subjective, but an objective basis. It is the nourishment of a real communication progressively kept up with Him, "Whose flesh is meat indeed, and whose blood is drink indeed," unto everlasting life. It is our opinion that Calvin regarded the Lord's Supper as the mystical medium, by which the union of the believer with Christ in its standing form is made to receive new strength and force, through such real communication with the Saviour. Does this not convey a special significance and efficacy to the Holy Feast? The Lord's Supper continues and carries forward the order of grace as it stood before, just as our common meals fall in with the general process of our natural life, and yet are special means for its preservation.

Such is the view taken of the subject by Calvin.

However grace may be independent of the Sacraments, these are still in the Church the regularly constituted media of its objective presentation, and we are bound to seek it therefore, through their proffered help.

Hence they are said to be organs or instruments, by which God efficaciously works in the souls of His people. The special use of the Lord's Supper is, according to Calvin, to continue and repair our communion, as already established with Christ. At the same time he asserts in the strongest terms, the full objectivity of the communication which Christ makes of Himself in the mystical transaction. Thus, in the Ist. Defence of the Consensus Tigurinus, we have it illustrated, by a comparison with the light and heat of the natural sun. It is not enough that the light shines. There must be on our side vision to receive it. But this vision has no power to produce the light itself. "So as the heat of the sun, which quickens a living and breathing body, gives rise only to corruption in a corpse, it is certain that the Sacraments, where the Spirit of Faith is wanting, breathe a savour of death rather than a savour of life." Life is the necessary condition of the salutary animation that comes from the sun, but it is not the cause of this, nor even its measure, for it comes in from abroad as an aliment to the life itself. And so it is also, that while the proper use of the Lord's Supper depends on the condition of faith, the grace which it offers is in no sense the product of this, but must be considered rather as the real entrance of a new measure of life into the soul by its means

raising faith itself into higher exercise. It is an objective grace. In the 2nd Defence, this idea of the objective force of the Lord's Supper, is brought out with still greater emphasis.

"We assert," it is said, "that the flesh and blood of Christ are truly offered to us in the Supper for the vivification of our souls. Nor is our definition ambiguous, - - - We affirm a true participation of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament. If any one stand on the word 'Substance', we assert that Christ breathes life from the Substance of His flesh into our souls; yea, that He diffuses into us His own life." (I). This statement is surely strong enough to refute the objection that Calvin attributed no special force to the Sacrament, and saw there no particular objective gift.

The passage quoted above, from the 2nd Defence, contains two words which have also given rise to the charge of ambiguity. These two words are "Soul" and "Substance".

II. The charge is sometimes brought against Calvin that he uses the word Anima in the sense of mere intellect and thought, so that the communion offered in the Lord's Supper, is a mere Mentis Contemplatio. But one need only read what he says in the Commentary to I. Thess. X.23, or in the Institutes I. 15, to be fully satisfied that the word "Anima", or 'soul' is held to mean the psychic substance of man, the centre of his individuality from which, both his spiritual and corporeal functions proceed. According to the above passages, ("Comment. on I Thess. V. 23, and Institutes I and 15), the "anima", when taken by itself in opposition to the body is the immortal essence of man. This has two parts, the Intellectus and the Voluntas. The soul, when distinguished from the body, and the spirit as a third, is "the seat of the affections, or the will and all affections." The spirit then is the intelligence and reason. Spirit and soul are not 'Plures Animae', sensitive and rational, but the one soul. We see thus that Calvin never defines 'Anima', as the region of Thought, in the same sense as Mens or Intellectus. It is always for him, the immortal substance of man, the natural germ of his psychic existence, the seat of his affections and impulses,

the basis in short of his corporeal life on the one side, and of his spiritual life on the other. When Calvin says then that the soul is fed with Christ, he means nothing other or less than this, that the substance of man, his proper being, the source of his entire individual existence, both as corporeal and spiritual, is in a real way nourished from the substance of Christ, as the only food which can truly give him life.

III. A third charge is frequently made that Calvin uses the word 'Substance' in an ambiguous way. What exactly does Calvin mean by this much disputed word? Does he mean the substance of Christ's body and blood, or the substance of His person generally? If we accept the latter alternative, as undoubtedly we must, it is then alleged that the substance of Christ's Person, with which we are fed, is nothing more than Christ's spiritual power. Calvin would doubtless have granted this, provided it means that the WHOLE CHRIST is received in the Sacrament. But Lutheran theologians of earlier and later times, have not been able fully to assure themselves that Calvin was in earnest when he taught our participation of the WHOLE CHRIST. First, it was objected that Christ, according to Calvin, remains, as to his human nature in Heaven, so that only His Divine Nature imparts itself to us in the Supper. This is a groundless objection, as Calvin has declared over and over again, that for a real union of both the natures of Christ with us, local nearness is not needed, and local distance, in view of the Spirit's omnipresence, forms no barrier. This has repeatedly been made clear in the foregoing pages. This objection accordingly, that only the divine nature of Christ is imparted to us, has been given up to make room for another. Calvin, it is allowed, teaches the communication of both the natures of Christ in the Supper, but only as regards His theandric Spirit, but not as regards His theandric Body.

That Christ's glorified body should be present as material substance Calvin never admitted. The glorified body is for him, in its substance, as we have repeatedly seen, active power, (Virtus). In the Glorification, the dualism between animating Spirit, and matter needing animation, is brought to an end. The glorified body is the

great Synthesis. It is through and through the manifestation of Spirit-life clear of all limitations of space. It is altogether and entirely Life. It has power to take volume at its own pleasure (John XX. 19, Luke XXIV. 16,) but still in such a way that it shall rule the matter so assumed, and not be ruled by it as an outward limitation. This is really the ROOT and Crux of Calvin's theory. The Glorified Body is not Matter, but Universal Power; and as such power, it works not mechanically, but all it does, it does Dynamically. It is with this Glorified Body, or Life, or Power, with this great divine and human synthesis, with this divine-human Person, that the Soul of man has communion in the Lord's Supper. Ebrard speaks of the Calvinistic conception of 'glorified Corporeity'- a conception, he says, to which, we must rise, if we are to understand his theory aright. To Calvin, the Centre (Mittelpunkt) of Man is Life. (1), and the true Substance of Christ on which the life of man is nourished is the Life of Christ. It is perfectly clear then, that the "Vivific Virtue" of Christ's body, signified for Calvin the Active Power of this Life. He would hear of no transfusion of substance, materially considered, but take this crass notion away, and he was ready to allow all that the idea of substance might be found to require. "The fiction of transfusion being removed, it never came into my mind to raise a debate about the term 'substance'. Nor will I ever hesitate to acknowledge, that by the secret virtue of the Holy Spirit, Life is infused into us from the substance of His flesh, which not without reason is called Heavenly food." (2). No language could more plainly describe the efflux of life which flows dynamically from the Body of the Saviour. This we believe is the key to a true understanding of Calvin's theory. By the life giving virtue or efficacy of Christ's body, he means always the very substance of Christ's life itself under the divine human form. Rev. Dr. C. Ryder Smith in discussing the rival theories of the Atonement, speaks of the third way, the way of the Peace-maker, (3).

(1). Thesis. p. 135.

(2). 2nd Def. Adv. Westphal. Tracts. p.277.

(3). Ryder Smith. Brit. Weekly, April, 8. 1926.

and we believe that Calvin has discovered the third way, as the Peace-maker between the crass conception of the Romans and Ultra Lutherans on the one side, and the figment of mere Spiritualism, in the rival theories of the Supper. For Calvin, the body of Christ, in that new order of existence to which it has been advanced by the Resurrection, is no longer under law to nature as before. It has become all Spirit and Life, having its place indeed in Heaven, but in such a way as to be capable of reaching forth at once, over all outward local limits, with its inmost substance and force, to the souls of His people, (and so to their bodies, also), in every part of the world. To express all this, he avoids carefully every word that might imply locality or matter, but he insists, with all the more emphasis and stress, on all that is included in the conception of Life in its invisible, dynamic nature. The human nature of Christ is made thus to be the reservoir of a life which flows into it from the divine nature, for the use of the race. The vivific virtue which it there comprehends, the true inward substance of His flesh and blood, is conveyed over to us by the operation of the Holy Ghost. And as the result of the whole process, we are so joined to Him, as to become flesh of His flesh and bone of His bone. His life reaches into us precisely as the root lives in its branches, and the head in its members, in the world of nature, only under a far more inward and vital form. This, we believe, is what Calvin means, by the substance of Christ's flesh and blood.

IV. The above discussion serves to remove a 4th Objection put forward by Hodge and others who discover confusion and ambiguity in Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, arising from an attempt to unite artificially two distinct and separate views of the "efficacy and life-giving power of Christ's body." (I). "There are two ways", writes Hodge, "in which this was understood. Some intended by it, not the virtue of Christ's body as flesh and blood, but their virtue as a body broken, and of blood as shed. Others insisted however that besides this, there was a vivifying efficacy imparted to the body of Christ by its union with the divine nature, and that by the power of the Holy Ghost, the believer in the Lord's

(I). Hodge. - Systematic Theology. III. p. 646.

Supper and elsewhere, received into his soul and by faith, this mysterious and supernatural influence. This was clearly Calvin's idea, though he often contented himself with the expression of the former of these views." (1).

Prof. Hodge proceeds to quote from Calvin's works passages which voice the latter view. We are already familiar with these. For an illustration of the former teaching, he goes to the 23rd Article of the Consensus Tigurinus (1549). "When it is said that Christ, by our eating of His flesh and drinking of His blood, feeds our souls through faith by the agency of the Holy Spirit, we are not to understand it as if any mingling or transfusion of substance took place, but that we draw life from the flesh once sacrificed and the blood shed in expiation." (2).

From this Article, it might appear as if what the believer receives in the Lord's Supper, is not any supernatural power from the Glorified body of Christ in Heaven, but the benefits of His death as a sacrifice for sin. Calvin is thus said to vacillate between two views. He continually declares that believers receive the virtue, efficacy, or vigour of Christ's body and blood. But at one time, he understands thereby, the virtue of Christ's body as broken and His blood as shed, that is, their sacrificial efficacy.

At another time, he asserts that besides this, there was a mysterious virtue in the body of Christ due to the union with the divine nature, which virtue was by the Holy Spirit, conveyed to the believer. The first view was the view of the Zurich Church, and Calvin is supposed to have artificially and ingeniously, blended it with the second view, which is derived, partly from the influence of previous modes of thought, partly from the dominant influence of the Lutherans, and the desire of getting as near to them as possible, and partly no doubt, from a too literal interpretation of John VI. 54-58. and Ephes. V. 30. (3). We are here in presence of a very common

(1). Hodge. Systematic Theology. III. p. 646.

(2). Tracts II. p. 219. Art. 23.

(3). Hodge. Princeton Review, April 1848. p. 252.

misapprehension of Calvin's Doctrine, and one from which it has suffered from the beginning even up to the present time. Calvin is continually represented as an artful and ingenious mediator, who by skilful language tried to reconcile opposing theories. From what we have already learned of him, however, we refuse to acquiesce in this description. Such intentions could no doubt be accredited to Bucer, but Calvin was not one to consent to such proceedings. Had there been such an obvious contradiction in his teaching he would have been the first to realise it. He had a fine sense for the logical unity of doctrines and he would not have consented to foist upon his Church, a dogma which was in reality two dogmas outwardly joined together, which had no inward affinity or connection.

But as a matter of fact, there was no such dualism in Calvin's doctrine. It has been our contention throughout this thesis that the doctrine of Zwingli found its natural development, and its full fruition in Calvin's teaching. Zwingli always related the Lord's Supper to the death of Christ. Calvin did the same, but he went deeper. He taught that the real basis of Christ's sacrifice was His life, and that this life was the natural and necessary medium of communion with it for the remission of sins. And when we speak of Christ's life, we mean of course that life as we have just expounded Calvin's thought of it in our previous paragraph. "First of all", he says, "we are taught by the Scripture that Christ was from the beginning, the living Word of the Father, the fountain and origin of life, from which all things should always receive life. Hence John at one time calls Him the Word of Life, and at another time says that in Him was life." (I).

This is Calvin's clear and consistent testimony, and he urged accordingly on all occasions the Vivific side of the Christian mystery of the Lord's Supper, as the proper complement of the sacrificial. From this order of thought he never swerved in the least, and so far from dropping it to please the Swiss, we find that this very order, and no other was settled with general consent, under his auspices, as a true and right expression of the Reformed faith universally.

(I). Institutes Book IV. Chap. 17. para. 8.

We meet it in all the standard Confessions of this faith in the latter part of the 16th Century. It is distinctly recognised in the whole sacramental controversy of the same period, under such symbolical view. The assertion of the presence of this supposed antagonism, and dualism of view is based, as we have seen, upon a quotation from the Consensus Tigurinus (Art. 23), but if the supporters of this contention would trouble to read the Exposition of this Article in the 1st Defence against Westphal, they would discover a complete and convincing refutation. "We acknowledge, then, without any equivocation, that the flesh of Christ, gives life, not only because we once obtained salvation by it, but because now, while we are made one with Christ, by a sacred union, the same flesh breathes life into us, or, to express it more briefly, because engrafted into the body of Christ by the secret agency of the Spirit, we have life in common with Him. For, from the hidden fountain of the Godhead, life was miraculously infused into the body of Christ, that it might flow thence to us." (I).

This is no reconciling statement of two opposing views. It is the lower view finding its full fruition in the view which Calvin continually and consistently affirmed.

V. We must here meet and answer another charge of ambiguity and lack of candour, which we have already encountered in our statement of Calvin's Eucharistic Doctrine. It is frequently brought against this doctrine that it spoke of two ways in which the believer really partook of the flesh and blood of Christ.

1st., Either the localised body of Christ radiated its power, so as to penetrate and fill the heart prepared by faith to receive it, or

2nd. the soul of the believer is raised by the Holy Spirit to the glorified body of Christ in Heaven, and so united with it, as to receive its Life.

"The latter is the view Calvin generally takes of the matter, a preference he bequeathed to the Reformed Confessions. Calvin indeed

(I). Tracts. II. page 238.

seems to have swung hesitatingly between these two views of representing the manner in which Christ operates on us, now imagining that we are mysteriously transported to Heaven by the power of the Holy Spirit to be united with the body of Christ resident there, and receive directly its energising virtues, now conceiving of the benefit being transmitted through the intervening spaces by His power of radiating wherever He pleases these virtues, and communicating them to any heart prepared by faith to receive them." (1). We have already discussed this apparent dualism of thought in the course of this thesis, and it is sufficient now to state, as Loofs has pointed out, that while Calvin seems to have preferred the latter mode of description (the idea of the ascent of the believing soul to heaven), he uses this as a mere metaphorical expression. (Bildliche Wendung). Loofs considers it unjust (unrecht) that Calvin should be classed by Lutheran theologians as holding a dogmatisch-mythologisch theory, from his use of this phrase. He considers that it is nothing more than a devotional exhortation similar to the "Sursum Corda". (2).

It is easy to see moreover that this "lifting up of the soul to Heaven" refers merely to the order of the mystery here brought to pass, as something that transcends wholly all natural experience. Calvin could not mean by it, as is so often represented, a simple act of thought mounting up to Christ in Heaven. That would reduce his theory to the level of that gross subjectivity which he so often disclaims. He could not have thought of a literal carrying up of the soul to the place of Christ's body, by the power of the Holy Ghost, for the purpose of communing with it. Why should he dwell as he does on the coming down of virtue or living vigour from Christ's body, in the Sacrament, if his theory rendered this needless at the same time by teaching also a literal translocation of the soul of the worshipper into heaven?

What he means is, that the soul must be directed subjectively in the sacrament, to heaven, or the higher sphere of matter and sense for the accomplishment of the grace it seeks. On the other side, the power of Christ, objectively meets this upward look of faith. He actually breaks through the limitations of space, and from the

{1}: Dr. Mitchell Hunter. The Teaching of Calvin, p. 182 - 183.
 {2}: Loofs Leitfaden. p. 892.

bosom of His own higher order of life itself, causes the vigour of His glorified humanity to reach over into the persons of His people in an immediate and direct way. Neither ascent nor descent is to be taken in any outward or local sense. They serve merely to express metaphorically the relation of the two orders or spheres of existence which are brought into opposition and contrast. The whole modus of the sacramental mystery transcends the category of space. It belongs to Heaven, as a higher order of life, but this detracts nothing from its reality or power.

VI. One last charge of ambiguity and lack of candour is brought against Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper by those who affirm that he could not seriously have intended to assert that believers could enjoy communion with Christ's glorified body, as it was his constant contention that the Old Testament saints had the same communion with Christ, which it is the privilege of believers to enjoy now.

This difficulty has been felt by many. Julius Müller (1) has clearly stated it. "It is difficult to see this point, if in the Holy Supper, a vitalising power is said to come out of the glorified flesh of Christ into those who enjoy the signs. It is very easy to see on the contrary, if that fellowship means nothing save an emotion of the mind, which is awakened by living faith, and lifted to Heaven. But that this is totally foreign to Calvin's view follows from what he says in the writing against Hesshuss. (2). We must therefore confess that this view of Calvin is very obscure and complex. Nevertheless, it has to be remembered that it was the trend of that time to magnify the presence of Christ and of the divine grace in the Old Testament, and to depreciate the benefits and gifts. (Guter and Gaben) of the New." (3).

"This view is perfectly intelligible", says the Princeton Review,

"if the virtue of Christ's flesh and blood, which we receive in the Lord's Supper, is its virtue as a sacrifice; because He was the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. But if the

(1). Müller, Dogmatische Abhandlungen page 422.

(2). Tracts II. page 533.

(3). Müller, Dogmatische Abhandlungen, page 422.

virtue in question is a mysterious power due to the hypostatical union, flowing from Christ's body in Heaven, it must be a benefit peculiar to believers since the Incarnation. It is impossible that those living before the Advent could partake of Christ's body, in this sense, because it did not then exist. It had not as yet been assumed into union with the divine nature." (I). Here again we are in presence of those who would reduce Calvin's view to a mere partaking by the believer in the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice. But to all who have made a careful study of Calvin's theory, it is apparent that here we have to deal with no incidental or extraneous fancy on the part of the great Reformer. On the contrary, we have before us a broad palpable idea, which is almost never out of sight in the discussion of the sacramental question, and which Calvin himself held to be of vital consequence to his whole system. That he held and taught always a real union on the part of believers with the human nature or life of Christ, is just as plain as it is, that he taught the doctrine of Election. We also know that Calvin himself had this objection to his doctrine distinctly before his mind, and yet he persisted in affirming the alleged ambiguous statement. In his Commentary to I. Cors. X. 1 - 4, he raises the subject plumply. "Inasmuch as we now in the Supper eat the Body of Christ, and drink His blood, how could the Jews have partaken of the same meat and drink, when there was yet no flesh of Christ which they might eat?"

To this he replies, that they actually partook of the vital power of the body that was afterwards, the Holy Ghost so working that the "flesh of Christ, though not yet created, became in them efficacious". At the same time, he allows a material difference in their mode of participation as compared with ours." In our time the manducation is substantial, which it could not be then i.e., Christ feeds us with His own flesh slain for us and appointed unto us for meat, and we draw thence life." This may be hard to understand, but could it be made more apparent, that for Calvin, at least, the case of the Old Testament saints formed no barrier to the idea of a real communion with the proper human life of the Redeemer, in the mystery of the Lord's Supper?

(I). Hodge. Princeton Review. April 1848. p. 251.

Westphal in fact tried to turn the difficulty to account against him, just as it is now pressed by modern critics with an opposite effect. "Christ had not yet put on flesh," said Westphal, "The Fathers then could partake of His body only in figure, and so by making their participation parallel to ours, you in fact sink this last to a mere figure too, notwithstanding all your fine talk." "But if he had any candour," retorts Calvin, "he would notice how this difficulty has been solved by me in my Commentary, where I say that the mode of eating for the Fathers was different from ours, inasmuch as the manducation is now substantial which it could not be then; namely as Christ feeds us with His flesh sacrificed for us, that we may draw life from its substance. As the lamb is said to have been slain from the foundation of the world, so it was necessary for the Fathers under the Law to seek spiritual nourishment from the flesh and blood, which we now enjoy more richly, not only as regards a fuller measure of revelation, but because the flesh once offered in sacrifice, is daily extended to us for fruition. When therefore Westphal infers, that we equal the figure to the truth, it only shows his too arrogant malice, since he knows well enough that I mention distinct degrees." (1).

"I always profess," he says in another place, "that the exhibition of Christ under the Law is less rich and full than it is now, and I add also that we are now fed substantially on the flesh of Christ, which exerted its virtue in the case of the Fathers, before it was actually created. This more clearly establishes Westphal's dishonesty in charging us with confounding degrees, which, as is proper, I am careful to distinguish." (2).

CONCLUSION.

Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper is no isolated or merely occasional utterance in his theological studies and system, His writings are full of it, from the 1st Edition of his Institutes to the last Tract he ever published, and it is presented always, as an ^{article} ~~not of~~ secondary, but of primary and fundamental interest, which it

(1). Tracts, II. page 293,
 (2). do. do. 393.

lay near his heart to have rightly understood. He spares no pains to explain and define it, and to make it clear. He comes upon it from all sides and considers it under all imaginable aspects, sometimes in the form of direct, positive statement and discussion, at other times polemically or apologetically, over against objections and cavils urged against it by friends and foes. And still through all this multitudinous and diversified presentation, the doctrine remains from first to last, one and the same, always in harmony with itself, and true to its original type or law. It is logically more clear than Luther's view or that of Zwingli. Calvin has written much on the Lord's Supper, and over and over again, in all forms of expression and explanation, he tells us that Christ's body is indeed locally in Heaven only, and in no sense included in the elements; that Christ can be apprehended by faith only, and not at all by the hands and lips; that nothing is to be imagined like a transfusion or intromission of the particles of His body, materially considered, into our persons. On the other hand, he asserts strongly that our communion with Christ, by the power of the Holy Ghost, involves a real participation - not in His doctrine merely, - not in His promises merely, - not in the sensible manifestations of His love merely - not in His righteousness and merit merely - not in the gifts and endowments of His Spirit merely; but in His own true, substantial life itself; and this, not as comprehended in His divine nature merely; but most immediately and peculiarly as embodied in His Humanity itself, for us men and our salvation. The Word became Flesh, according to Calvin, for the purpose not of simply effecting a salvation that might be available for men in an outward way, but to open a fountain of life in our nature itself, that might thenceforward continue to flow over to other men, as a vivific stream, to the end of time. The flesh of Christ, then, or His Humanity, forms the medium, and the Only Medium, by which it is possible for us to be inserted into His life. To have part in Him at all, we must be joined to Him in the flesh, and this not by the bond of our common relationship to Adam, but by the force of a direct implantation through the Spirit, into the Person or Life of Christ Himself.

Calvin signed the Augsburg Confession. He stood in open and acknowledged agreement with Melancthon. He solemnly declared time after time, that he allowed the fact of the sacramental mystery as contended for by Luther, and differed from him only as to the mode of its accomplishment. Every contrary representation made against him by Westphal, he proclaimed a slander and a lie.

It is the contention of this thesis, then, that his view has close kinship to the teaching of these leaders of the German Reformation, and that in his teaching, we have Zwingli's doctrine carried to its natural completion and fruition.

"I have gone over the Institutes of Calvin, as well as all his other writings in which he treats of the Eucharist," says Leibnitz, "and have made from them such extracts as prove, that this author has seriously, constantly and strongly inculcated the real and substantial participation of the body of our Lord, and when he denies the real presence, he is to be understood undoubtedly as speaking only of a Dimensional Presence." (1).

"It is perfectly plain," says Bretschneider, "that Calvin's theory includes what with Luther, was the main object, namely, the true, full participation of Christ's body to the strengthening and quickening of the soul; and that the question as to whether this takes place under the bread or along with the bread, by the mouth or by the soul, does not touch the substance of the case. For unless we conceive of the body of Christ as something sensible, and thus allow a Capernaitic eating, the oral participation must become at last nothing else than a participation through the soul, and it is not necessary that the Lord's Spiritual Body should be taken in by the mouth, in order to be effectual upon the soul." (2).

- (1). Leibnitz. *Pensées de Leibnitz*, - 2nd Edition, page 106.
 (2). Bretschneider. *Handbuch der Dogmatik*. p. 202 ff.

According to Schleiermacher (I), the Calvinist idea of the Lord's Supper connects, not indeed with the elements as such, but with the act of eating and drinking, not simply such a spiritual enjoyment of Christ as was taught by Zwingli, but the real presence of His body and blood to be had nowhere else (die nirgend sonst zu habende wirkliche Gegenwart seines Leibes and Blutes). Both views, the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic, he tells us, acknowledged a presence of Christ's body and blood. It will hardly be pretended, that such a theologian, as Schleiermacher, has mistaken the sense of Calvin in this matter.

It deserves to be noted besides, that this great master of ratiocination himself, with all his cool and free spirit of theological inquiry, finds no incongruity or contradiction whatever in the Calvinistic Theory. He prefers it on the whole to that of Luther; although he thinks the truth may require some higher, middle theory, in which both at last shall be reconciled and made complete. (I).

(I). Schleiermacher, Der Christliche Glaube. page 140.

CHAPTER NINETEEN.

The Sources of Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's
Supper.

Was Ratramnus the Precursor of Calvin's
Doctrine?

CHAPTER NINETEEN.

The Sources of Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper.
Was Ratramnus the Precursor of Calvin's Doctrine?

We have discussed Calvin's Theory of the Lord's Supper in its relation to the teaching of Luther and Zwingli. We now ask what place does the Doctrine of Calvin occupy in the History of dogma?

In Doumergue's Life of Calvin, there is an interesting section, whose purpose is to show that the spiritual predecessor of Calvin was Ratramnus a priest of Corbie, a native of Picardy, who wrote a Treatise, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, in the reign of Charles the Bald, about the middle of the ninth century (1).

Prof. Choisy connects Calvin and Ratramnus, (2) and Joseph Martin, in a work, entitled, *Ratramne, une conception de la cène au neuvième siècle*, acclaims Ratramnus, as the common ancestor of the Protestant Eucharistic doctrine, as Radbertus was the father of the Roman Catholic dogma (3).

Not much is known of the history of Ratramnus. It is certain, however that he lived in the reign of Louis le Debonnaire, and that he did not die before 869. It is probable that he was of French origin, and was a member of the order of the Benedictines. He was distinguished for his learning, and was thought worthy of the highest honours. We do not know for certain if he always remained at Corbie. What is important, is, that Ratramnus was a man, pious and intelligent, who enjoyed a reputation that brought him the friendship of men of letters. Such a man could not fail to take a large part in the theological discussions of his age. He seems to have been engaged chiefly in opposing the ideas of Radbertus, and he composed a considerable work on the dogma of the Virgin Birth, as also on the doctrine of Predestination, where he favoured the teaching of the Monk, Gottschalk. Gottschalk had revived the Augustinian idea, but in a more vigorous form, and he maintained the doctrine of a double predestination. (4)

I. Doumergue. vol. V. p. 364.

II. Prof. Choisy. *Pascasius Radbertus*. Montauban. 1888.

III. Martin. Thesis. *Ratramne*. 1891.

IV. Loofs. *Leitfaden*. p.462. and Boniface: *Histoire des dogmes*. II. p. 403.

This connection with Augustine is interesting, as Calvin continually claimed that his teaching on the Lord's Supper was in harmony with his. In Ratramnus' day, Augustine's teaching was the point of departure for an earnest reaction against the ideas of Pelagius, and the foundation of Pelagianism was nothing else than the doctrine of works, which later became the basis of the Roman Catholic belief. From this point of view, it is valuable to find in Ratramnus, ideas analagous to those of Augustine, that is, contrary to the tendencies of the spirit of Catholicism. The testimony of critics, the least suspect, proves that the works of Ratramnus are solidly based. "We have no dogmatic work of this time, whose doctrine is more convincingly established." (1)

Sufficient has been said to show, that Ratramnus was an Epoch Point in the preparation for the Reformed Doctrine. The Solidity of his reasoning, and his desire to remain true to the Gospel records, and the testimony of the Fathers, is very evident.

But there was more than that. His work on the Supper, "De corpore et sanguine Domini" (2), in itself, gives him a serious title to recognition. Among all the discussions in which the theologians of the 9th. Century took part, the most important was that of the Eucharist.

It was raised by Radbertus, monk of Corbie. This monk wrote in 831, a work on the Supper, "Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini (3)" His book, where the doctrine of the material presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, was energetically formulated and defended, became well known, and was brought to the attention of Charles The Bald who was greatly interested in theological questions, desirous of being better informed on the subject, Charles asked Ratramnus to expound the true theory of the Supper. Ratramnus then wrote his book, "De corpore et sanguine Domini." This book of Ratramnus had a curious history. It remained unnoticed from the 10th. to the 12th. Century. It does not seem to have played a great rôle even in the Eucharistic dispute of the 11th. Century.

I. The Literary History of France. Vol. V. p. 34.

II. Ratramnus. De Corpore et Sanguine Domini.

III Radbertus. Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini.

Berengar (1) knew it, but ascribed it to John Scotus. In 1526, Jean Fisher uses it against Oekolampadius. From that time, it gradually attained great publicity. The Protestants understood the importance of it, and they printed it in numerous editions. It appeared in Cologne in 1532 with a preface by Leo Juda, at Geneva in 1541, and again in 1557 and 1608. We have not been able to find any reference to it in Calvin's works, but such a reader as he, could not be ignorant of it.. It was translated by Bishop Ridley in 1549. In 1686, Hopkins, Canon of Westminster, published a dissertation, where he showed that the doctrine of Ratramnus was the doctrine of the Church of England.

The Roman Catholic theologians have always been greatly embarrassed by it. They even invented a sect called Stercoranistes, whose excesses, they affirmed, Ratramnus had written to refute. This sect according to Du Perron, were ultra realists, (3) but there is no trace of the existence of such a sect in the times of Ratramnus. Their efforts were in vain, and the fact remains that the book was neither corrupted nor altered, that it is by Ratramnus, and that the belief, which the author says is Catholic, is contrary to the dogma of the Real Presence and of Transubstantiation.(4)

Now what was the precise point of debate which furnished to Ratramnus the occasion for the publishing of his work? In his preface to the King, Ratramnus defines the two theories, between which he has to choose. "Your Majesty enquires, 1st., whether the body and blood of Christ, which in the Church is taken by the mouth of the faithful, is made such in mystery or in external reality, that is, whether it contains anything hidden, which is open only to the eyes of faith, or whether, without the veil of any mystery, the sight of the body outwardly sees that which the vision of the mind inwardly beholds, so that ^{that} all is done, is thereby manifested and seen;

1.) Loofs. p. 501.

(2) Martin. p. 17.

(3) do p. 39.

(4) Doumergue. ll. p. 365.

2nd., whether it is that body itself, which was born of Mary³ suffered and died, and was buried, which rose again and ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the Right Hand of the Father." (I).

Here it seems are two doctrines clearly opposed - the Realist-Materialist Doctrine, and the Realist-Spiritualist Doctrine.

Dealing with the 1st. question, - Whether the Lord's Supper contains a mystery, which only faith can recognise, Ratramnus evidently thinks that in the Lord's Supper, there is no Corporal Manducation. The bread, he maintains, remains externally what it is, but inwardly considered, it is for faith, something higher, heavenly and divine, which is seen and divined, and received, and eaten only by the believing soul. (par9).

There occurs indeed, a change into something better (commutatio in melius) but this is to be understood spiritually and figuratively. What appears outwardly to our senses, is the bread and wine without change.

What appears inwardly to the soul of the believer, is a divine and heavenly thing, the body and blood of Jesus Christ. From all this, Ratramnus concludes that the bread and wine are only Simple Figures of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. (par. 10.)

He explains what he means by Figure. "It is a kind of shade which shows as under a veil what it encloses." (par. 7.)

He gives as an example, the Word of Christ. "I am the bread of life which came from Heaven," "I am the true vine; ye are the branches."

To believe that in the Sacrament, nothing is to be taken figuratively is to deprive faith of its effective rôle. It can do nothing there, since there is nothing spiritual in the transaction; but all is to be taken in a corporal manner.

He insists on the fact that if the bread and wine were really the body and blood of Jesus Christ, there would be a change in the substance of the bread and wine, while there is none. For it would be absurd to take the bread for flesh, and to call the wine blood.

This however does not mean that there is no change. It is on the contrary implied in the declaration of Jesus Christ, "Take, eat, This is my body, Take, drink, This is my blood of the New Testament.

But this change is made figuratively, because that, "under the veil of the material bread and of the material wine, there is the spiritual body and blood of Christ. (par 16)." The body and blood of Christ enclosed in the Lord's Supper are only creatures subject to change and to corruption, if one stops at the outside, But if one regards the Virtue of the mystery, they are a principle of life which gives immortality to those that partake of them. (para. 18 and 19).

Ratramnus, like Zwingli, makes much of John, Chapter, 6.

"Christ said to His disciples who received His words, not with unbelief but with faith, though they did not understand them, ' Does this offend you? Does this make you stumble? What then, if ye should see the Son of Man ascending where He was before? as though to say, 'Think not that My flesh or My blood is to be corporally eaten or drunk by you, for, after My resurrection, ye shall see Me ascend into heaven with the completeness of My body and blood'".

Finally, Ratramnus quotes this word of John, "Jesus said, 'It is the Spirit that quickeneth. The flesh profiteth nothing', and he draws the conclusion, "In this mystery of the body and blood, it is a spiritual Efficacy (*spiritualis operatio*). which gives life, without which efficacy, these mysteries are useless, because they can then only nourish the body, and not the soul. (para 31)."

One could multiply quotations, but all go to prove that the theory of Ratramnus is Spiritual. He sums it up in this declaration, "From all that has so far been said, it has been shown that the body and blood of Christ which are received by the mouth of the faithful in the Church, are Figures in respect of visible nature (*speciem*); but in respect of invisible substance, that is, the power of the divine word, they are really the body and blood of Christ. There is then a body of Christ in the Supper, but Interiorius, and not Exteriorius, in Mysterio not in veritate, It is present Spiritualiter, not Corporaliter! This is the gist of Ratramnus answer to the 1st question, despite the occasional use of such terms as 'converti; 'commutari', 'confici', etc. (1)

The Second Question propounded to Ratramnus, "Whether it is that body which was born of Mary; Suffered and Died and Was buried, which rose again and ascended into heaven". This Question, Ratramnus answers in the negative.

After commenting on the testimonies of several of the Fathers, he concludes that there is a great difference between the body which bore the sufferings with which Christ was afflicted, and the body which believers celebrate in the Mystery of the Supper. "For," says he, "This bread and this drink are the body and the blood of Jesus Christ, not in regard to what they show, but in regard to what they communicate - spiritually, a substance of life."

The blood which believers drink, and His body which they eat, are one thing in kind, and another thing in meaning; one thing, in that they nourish the body like corporal food, and another thing, in that they nourish the soul with a nourishment to eternal life.

Ratramnus insists that the historic Body of Christ cannot in any fashion be in the Supper, and he gives three reasons for this impossibility. 1st. After the Resurrection, Christ's historic body is imperishable and eternal.

2nd., After the Resurrection, the historic body of Christ is still visible and tangible.

3rd., The historic Body is True God and True Man, and one could not grant these attributes to Him who is in the Eucharist.

What then, according to Ratramnus, does the Lord's Supper bestow? The answer can only be, The Invisible Bread, the Spirit of Christ, the Power of the Logos, (paras. 22. 26. 44. ff.). Christ the Word is spiritually imparted to us through the mystic form of the Sacrament.

"This." says Seeberg, "Is the Augustinian view adapted to meet the statement of the problem by Radbertus. The religious element which it contains, the spiritual fellowship of Christ, cannot be overlooked. Perhaps Ratramnus would have been able to furnish an even more lucid exposition, if the problem had not been forced upon him from without

and the direction of his thought thus determined for him." (1)

(1). Seeberg. - vol. 2. p. 38.

According to Loofs, (1), the view of Ratramnus may be characterised as Realistisch - dynamisch.

In being the first to give a scientific formula to the Materialist Theory of the Lord's Supper, Pascarius Radbertus has acquired the right of being considered as the Father of the Roman Catholic conception. In the same way, in expounding for the first time the Realist-Spiritualist doctrine, Ratramnus deserves to be called the Father of the Protestant conception. If his ideas did not triumph in the 9th. Century, they have nevertheless convinced authoritative representatives. Berengar, Bernard of Clairvaux, Wickliff, connect him with the Reformation. Of this fact, Martin, (2) Doumergue, (3) supply two proofs.

1st., That the doctrine of Ratramnus has directly influenced the doctrine of the Church of England.

2nd., That the doctrine of Ratramnus is found in the Reformers of the 16th. Century, and especially in Calvin.

For the first of these proofs, there are reliable witnesses. Hopkins, Canon of Westminster, who wrote a long introduction to an edition of the book of Ratramnus, which he published, makes several important declarations on the subject. (4)

"We acknowledge," he says "the reality of the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist in the same way as Ratramnus, and we reject with this writer the same errors which the Roman Church had acknowledged as Articles of Faith. The majority of these decisions of our church, are found in this little book, if not in express terms, at least by logical deductions. Perhaps even our Reformers had more regard to the judgment of Ratramnus on this subject than any of the neighbouring Churches. Bishop Ridley who was one of the principal compilers of our Liturgy, and of our Confession of Faith in the

I. Leitfaden. p. 472.

II. Martin. p. 55.

III. Doumergue V. p. 365.

IV. Hopkins, Ratramnus, or Bertram- (1688) pages, 164 and 165.

Also see Doumergue, V. p. 366.

reign of Edward VI. had so great an esteem for Ratramnus and his works, that in his defence before the Commissioners of Queen Mary at Oxford, he declares that he was driven by the reading of this work to correct by the Scriptures and the Fathers the old opinion on the real presence of the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, He confesses that by this means, he discovered the errors of the Church at Rome. Also he makes the greatest eulogium of Ratramnus, and borrows from his book, without concealment, the arguments necessary for his own theory. Dr. Burnet confirms this information in his History of the Reformation. He recounts that after Ridley had read Ratramnus, he concluded that Transubstantiation was not one of the ancient dogmas of the Church, and that it had not been admitted till after the age of Ratramnus. Dr. Burnet also affirms that Ridley communicated his thought to Cranmer, and that they both examined Ratramnus' work with extraordinary care.

Dr. Burnet is thus right in holding that the doctrine of Ratramnus was the teaching embraced by the English Church". "But that is not to say," continues Hopkins, "That the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is only a Commemoration, since according to our principles, it is an efficacious mystery, accompanied by a divine and spiritual virtue, which renders the consecrated elements truly, though mystically, the body and the blood of Christ, and communicates to us the rich fruits and advantages of Christ's death. Our doctrine is the doctrine of Ratramnus in both parts of his work." (1)

"This testimony of Hopkins becomes especially interesting, "says Martin, "when we remember the close relation which exists between the Reformation of the English Church and that of which Calvin was the head. On the question of the Supper, as on many others, the doctrines of the English Church correspond to the Calvinist Doctrine. That is to say, Ratramnus was the precursor of Calvin." (2)

I. Hopkins. p. 164. and 165.
 Martin. Ratramnus, p. 55.
 Doumergue. Volume V. p. 366.

II. Martin - Ratramne, p. 59.

We do not need to push the comparison further.

Ratramnus saw in the Supper, a ceremony destined to recall to Christians, the expiatory sacrifice of Christ. He also saw that the believer receives in communicating, a spiritual nourishment, but he saw more than that. He affirmed with Luther that the body and blood of Christ are truly present in the Sacrament. Only he went less far than Luther in affirming that this presence had only a spiritual character. He held himself between the two extremes. He observed the same limits as Calvin. He admitted with Radbertus that the Sacrament is at once a visible sign and an invisible truth, but while Radbertus believed that it was the historic body^{and blood}/of Jesus Christ, Ratramnus declared it immaterial, and dynamic, the power of the Logos.

We find again in Calvin his distinction between the Visible, Material element which consists in the elements of the bread and wine, and the Invisible, Spiritual which is the body of Christ. It is always the same bread and the same wine, not changing in substance after consecration, but becoming the evident signs of the communication of the spiritual body and blood of Christ. It is a Real, True Presence, but spiritual. We think therefore that we have sufficiently justified our opinion on the question of the intimate relation between the doctrines of Ratramnus and Calvin, and we conclude with a quotation from Doumergue, (I) which confirms our thesis.

"One understands how a Catholic has said, 'To quote Ratramnus, is to show that the heresy of Calvin is not new.'⁷ The doctrine of Ratramnus is placed in a time, at an equal distance between Paul and Calvin, between the early Church and the Reformation, at that unique moment, when Evangelical Christianity suffered a secular eclipse. Calvin relit the torch which Ratramnus so firmly held. The Protestantism of Calvin is the Christianity of the true Evangelical Tradition. Your fathers, Where are they? There,"! (I)

(I). Doumergue. V. 367.